DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 383 604 SO 024 903

TITLE	Defining Our Role in a Changing World: What Is America, and What Do We Want It To Be? Library Reader 1995. Choices for the 21st Century Education Library Series.
INSTITUTION	Brown Univ., Providence, RI. Thomas J. Watson, Jr. Inst. for International Studies.
SPONS AGENCY	John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Chicago, IL.; National Endowment for the Humanities (NFAH), Washington, D.C.; W. Alton Jones Foundation, Charlottesville, VA.
PUB DATE	95
NOTE	165p.; Cover title varies.
AVAILABLE FROM	Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom Use - Teaching Guides (For Teacher) (052)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Economics; Foreign Culture; Foreign Policy; *Futures (of Society); *Global Approach; *Global Education; Higher Education; *Intercultural Programs; *Intergroup Relations; International Education; *International Relations; International Trade; *Peace; Politics; Secondary Education; Social Studies

ABSTRACT

This reader provides background information for a public policy discussion program about the nation's future at this critical point in history. Through a non-partisan discussion format, citizens are encouraged to deliberate about the direction in which the nation should head in the years to come. This reader employs a multi-disciplinary approach and a humanities-centered methodology. The volume includes the following chapters: (1) "The End of the Cold War: Challenges of a New Era"; (2) "Considering Four Futures"; (3) "The Search for Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role"; (4) "U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy"; (5) "Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S. Policy"; (6) "Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy"; (7) "U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World"; and (8) "Charting Our Future: Balancing Priorities." A ballot for voting on the suggested course of action also is included, along with a participation evaluation form. (EH)

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What is America,
and what do we want it to be?

Defining
Our Role
in a
Changing
World

1995

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Funding for this project is provided, in part, by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the W. Alton Jones Foundation and, in participating states, by individual state humanities councils, state library agencies, regional library associations, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Choices for the 21st Century

Public Policy Discussions
in Your Local Library

Defining Our Role in a Changing World

What is America, and What Do We Want It To Be?

Library Reader

1995

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About the Program

Welcome to the *Choices for the 21st Century* program. This is a nationwide program designed to engage the American public in consideration of our nation's future in our rapidly changing world. The program does not advocate any particular point of view on this question. Rather, it seeks to bring citizens together in a non-partisan public space to deliberate about the direction in which the nation should head as the next century approaches. By learning together, listening respectfully to one another, weighing alternatives, and making difficult choices about competing values, it is hoped that we can work together toward a public voice on this all-encompassing public issue.

To ensure high quality, accurate, balanced material, the *Choices for the 21st Century* program takes care to incorporate the input of a broad group of academics and policymakers with an inclusive range of political and disciplinary perspectives, and submits all materials to rigorous review prior to publication. A full list of academics and policymakers who have served as consultants and reviewers of materials included in this reader can be found after the table of contents.

This program is sponsored nationally by two organizations:

CHOICES for the 21st Century Education Project of Brown University's Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies is an educational program that seeks to strengthen the quality of public life in the United States by encouraging the nation's schools and civic organizations to make the enrichment of public dialogue an integral part of their work. CHOICES materials are designed to engage the non-expert — student or adult — in the consideration of current international issues. CHOICES materials are used annually with over six hundred and fifty thousand students in thirty-five hundred schools nationwide and the "choices" approach has been approved by the U.S. Department of Education. CHOICES is responsible for all content materials and scholar training for this program.

OPTIONS is a nationwide community outreach program based at Brown University that promotes the involvement of colleges and universities in citizen education on international affairs. It currently involves thirteen hundred scholars at one hundred and forty campuses in thirty-five states. OPTIONS scholars are committed to non-partisan citizen education and are adept at engaging citizens in national policy debates. OPTIONS is responsible for the organization of this program on a nationwide basis.

OPTIONS and CHOICES work collaboratively with state humanities councils, library associations, and affiliated book discussion programs. These partners provide organization and promotion on a statewide basis and work with the individual libraries that host the discussion series at the local level.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This reader relies on the cooperation and expertise of a broad group of specialists with an inclusive range of political and disciplinary perspectives on each issue covered. I wish to express special thanks to the following researchers, academics, and policymakers for their assistance in the development and review of the materials included in this reader.

Mark Anderson, Director, AFL-CIO Task Force on Trade
Susan Aronson, Professor of Economic History, George Washington University
Thomas Biersteker, Director, Watson Institute, Brown University
Douglas Blum, Associate Professor of Political Science, Providence College
George Borts, Professor of Economics, Brown University
Jeffrey Boutwell, Associate Executive Officer, American Academy of Arts and Sciences
Robert Chen, Assistant Professor, World Hunger Program, Watson Institute, Brown University
Jarat Chopra, Research Associate, Watson Institute, Brown University
Elinor Despalatovic, Professor of History, Connecticut College
Sue Eckert, International Trade Consultant
Hilary French, Senior Researcher, Worldwatch Institute
C. Scipio Garling, Federation for American Immigration Reform
Mark Garrison, Senior Fellow, Watson Institute, Brown University
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Leonid Kistersky, E. L. Wiegand Distinguished Visiting Professor, Brown University
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Mark Lindeman, Jacob K. Javits Fellow, Political Science, Columbia University
David McFadden, Assistant Professor of History, Fairfield University
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Larry Minear, Co-Director, Humanitarianism and War Project, Watson Institute, Brown University
Eric Nordlinger, Professor of Political Science, Brown University

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William Rose, Associate Professor of Political Science, Connecticut College

John Rouleau, Economic Planning Specialist

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Peter Uvin, Visiting Assistant Professor, World Hunger Program, Watson Institute, Brown University

Harold Ward, Director, Center for Environmental Studies, Brown University

Thomas Weiss, Associate Director, Watson Institute, Brown University

Michael White, Associate Professor of Sociology, Brown University

Many people contributed to the development of this reader. Mark Malkasian, Curriculum Editor for the Choices Education Project, was the principal writer of much of the material from which this reader draws and assisted in its editing. He was also responsible for its design and layout. Mark Lindeman and William Rose co-authored a Choices college text, *The Role of the United States in a Changing World*. Karl Berger was the principal author of a Choices high school unit by the same name. Their contributions were critical to the development of the Futures framework used in this reader. A previous edition of this reader was used in library discussions in Connecticut and Utah during 1994. The feedback from participants in these sessions was most helpful to us as we worked on the 1995 reader. Loral Patchen, formerly of the Choices Education Project, attended many of the 1994 library sessions for this program. She contributed much needed insights into the development of the 1995 reader and assisted in drafting sections of it. Jennifer Eadie of the Choices Education Project assisted in editing and layout. Richard Gann of the Watson Institute assisted in design. Fred Fullerton and Mary Lhowe, editors at the Watson Institute, provided editorial assistance. I wish to thank the W. Alton Jones Foundation and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation for their generous support to make this program possible. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to Marta Daniels, Co-Director of this library project, for her insightful contributions throughout this effort.

Susan Graseck, Project Co-Director
Editor, *What is America and What Do We Want It To Be*

The vision of a free and diverse people in a democratic community evolved from the tradition of thought and experience that we call the humanities. Each generation must sustain and renew that vision through shared thought, study, inquiry, and discussion. Hence, study of the humanities is not only central to formal education but is also vital to daily life and work.

Federation of State Humanities Councils

Foreword

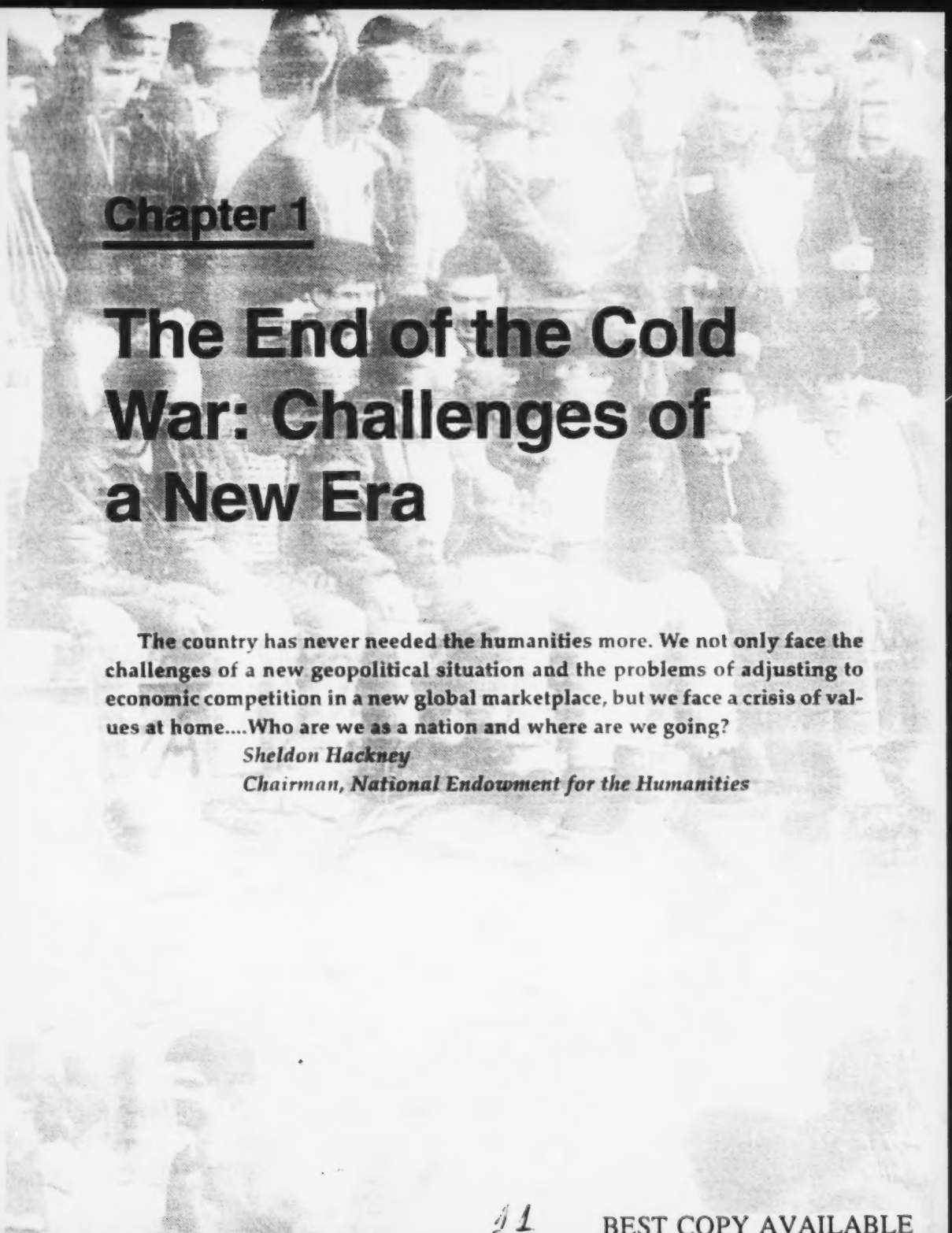
We live in an age of intense cynicism about the capacities and intentions of government and growing frustration about the degree of control Americans exercise over their daily lives and their public policies. We live, too, in an age in which civic discourse has all but disappeared. Virtually every national index of civic connection we have — from church membership to participation in bowling leagues — shows steadily waning levels of involvement. Ironically, we have become more distant from one another at precisely the point when our obligations to each other at home and our relationships with each other abroad are increasingly complex and cry out for redefinition.

This program in which you are about to participate, *Choices for the 21st Century*, challenges all that our public life has become. It rests on the straightforward assumption that ideas do matter. It rests on the conviction that sound public policy requires broad public understanding and involvement. It rests on a deep belief in the importance of context and perspective, a belief that our attempts to grapple intellectually and emotionally with issues of public importance should be informed by what scholars and other specialists have thought and written in the past. It rests on the conviction that real understanding is hard work.

Above all else, this program manifests a steadfast commitment to the importance of public discussion as an essential civic exercise and an unshakable faith in the capacity of people of good will to mold intelligent choices about their lives and their world from argument and debate with one another. In a time of insularity, acrimony, and distrust, *Choices for the 21st Century* brings us together to discuss, to argue, and to learn from one another. In achieving this, it offers us real hope that the spirit of civic conversation and discourse, so necessary to a healthy democracy, remains alive in America.

Bruce Fraser
Executive Director
Connecticut Humanities Council

Member of the Board of Directors
Federation of State Humanities Councils



Chapter 1

The End of the Cold War: Challenges of a New Era

The country has never needed the humanities more. We not only face the challenges of a new geopolitical situation and the problems of adjusting to economic competition in a new global marketplace, but we face a crisis of values at home....Who are we as a nation and where are we going?

Sheldon Hackney
Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities

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Since the first days of the republic, Americans have debated how to balance our priorities at home with our relationships beyond our shores. In his farewell address of 1796, President George Washington warned Americans to "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." He particularly feared treaties that would entangle the United States in European disputes and inject the rivalries of the Old World into U.S. domestic politics. Yet Washington also recognized that the United States needed international trade in order to prosper. The first president advised his successors to follow a policy that would allow the United States to develop arrangements that were "temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another."

Over the past two centuries, the United States has changed beyond George Washington's imagining. Events have compelled Americans to rethink the U.S. role in the world on a number of occasions. Changes in the American scene — unmatched economic growth, ever-widening global power, waves of immigration, and startling social transformations — have inevitably left Americans wrestling with conflicting foreign policy ideas derived from various aspects of the American experience. Time and again, Americans have argued about what interests and values, if any, were at stake outside the country, and how the United States should respond.

Post-Cold War questions

For four decades following World War II, most Americans agreed that U.S. foreign policy should be grounded in three basic points of consensus: U.S. security needs were at the heart of our country's national interests; the Soviet Union was the principal threat to our security; and the United States had no choice but to be actively involved in international affairs. According to the logic of the Cold War, the United States was compelled to counter the Soviets in Afghanistan, Central America, Southern Africa, and other contested regions.

This broad agreement endured despite sharp disagreements over how far our commitment should extend. In the late 1960s, for instance, the Vietnam War — increasingly controversial in itself — created intense economic pressures at a time when the United States was also fighting a federal "War on Poverty." Some observers believe that the nation's attempt to pursue both

struggles condemned the United States to fail on each front. (Some argue that, in fact, neither "war" was winnable.) Despite these differences, high levels of defense spending and a global U.S. military presence were largely accepted by Americans as central to U.S. security.

Today, the United States finds itself again in a world that has fundamentally changed. The Soviet Union is gone (although its nuclear arsenal remains). No single adversary looms as a threat to U.S. interests. The United States is the world's sole superpower, with unrivaled military strength and international influence.

There are periods of history when profound changes occur all of a sudden....We are now in one of those periods, which obliges the United States to rethink its role in the world, just as it was forced to do by the cataclysmic changes that followed the end of the Second World War.

—Stanley Hoffmann, professor of European studies Harvard University

Despite the euphoria we felt as Cold War tensions dissipated, today few Americans feel like celebrating. The country seems beset by problems at home: a loss of manufacturing jobs and a general decline in job security; rampant crime and drug abuse in our cities and often outside them; the AIDS epidemic and the broader health care crisis; a stubborn federal deficit and a spiraling national debt; doubts about our educational system; fears that new immigrants are overtaxing strained social services and making it even harder for American citizens to get good jobs for good pay. There is much uncertainty and controversy about how to address these problems, but most Americans agree that they must be addressed.

However, many Americans also believe that a variety of international challenges demands an active U.S. foreign policy. Some of these challenges seem old and familiar, although the particulars may have changed. For many, the U.S. response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait demonstrated that the United States has an abiding interest in assuring the flow of Middle East oil, discouraging aggression around the world, or both. The present war in the former Yugoslavia reminds some Americans of the Balkan crisis that sparked World War I. For others, evidence of "ethnic cleansing" poses a moral challenge to the international community. In Haiti, the intervention of more than 20,000 American troops in September 1994 was applauded by many as a victory for democracy in the Western Hemisphere. At the same time, the mission echos a long history of U.S. involvement in the Caribbean.

Other, newer questions blur the distinction between domestic and foreign affairs. When President Bill Clinton came into office in January 1993,

he intended to focus his administration's efforts on health care reform and other domestic issues. But in the fall of 1993 the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) took center stage. Sometimes the NAFTA debate was framed as an issue of U.S. leadership in the world. More often, it pivoted on whether the treaty would create or destroy American jobs, how many, whose, and when. More clearly than ever before, U.S. economic policy was foreign policy. The very concept of a national economy becomes murkier as more businesses operate globally. Over one-third (some say over one-half) of international trade — now at historic levels — is trade within multinational companies and conglomerates. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations that were concluded in December 1993, and ratified by the Senate a year later, promised to give an added boost to global commerce among the more than 120 signatory nations. Environmental threats such as ozone depletion, acid rain, and global warming are increasingly believed to be global problems — but they are rooted in local and national decisions about industrial production and regulation, forest policy, and much more. Immigration, with its contested social and economic implications, is rapidly becoming a centerpiece of political debate in the United States. Finally, American leaders debate whether (and how) to fight the "war on drugs" in the United States or overseas. In light of such complexities, it is increasingly difficult to separate foreign policy from domestic issues.

...a successful foreign policy requires an intellectual underpinning or mooring in a vision of the country's mission in the world. The lesson from Bosnia is that this is not merely an academic exercise but an important practical necessity.
—Jonathan Clarke, British diplomat

Debating a new definition of security

When the Soviet Union dissolved in December 1991, many of the assumptions that formed the foundation of our country's national security structure were swept away. We no longer share common understandings about what the U.S. role should be in this changing international environment, or about how we should balance our foreign policy interests with our domestic responsibilities. Americans, both policymakers and the public, have been left to construct a new vision to guide the U.S. role in the world. Central to this debate is the search for a common understanding of national security that can guide our foreign and domestic policies in the environment of the post-Cold War world.

Over the past decades, but with particular urgency in the last five years, some Americans have argued forcefully that the United States must abandon its narrow definition of national security. According to this argument, the country placed too great an emphasis during the Cold War on countering external military threats, while it neglected vital economic and social goals. We need, it is said, a new vision of security that embraces better conditions at home, improved economic competitiveness, a more coherent response to global problems such as environmental degradation, and other key concerns.

While there is plenty of room for disagreement about what constitutes security today, there are some things on which most Americans can agree. Just about everyone agrees that the United States should remain independent and as safe as possible from outside attack. Just about everyone also agrees that national independence and safety are not enough. America should be a good place to live — a place where hard work is rewarded, where quality education is accessible to all, where health care services meet our medical needs, and where we and our children are safe from crime. And just about everyone agrees, at least in the abstract, that it would be desirable for all countries to treat their citizens well, and for all countries to work together in order to solve our common problems. Some people would call all of these things aspects of "security." Others would not. But just about everyone would like to see them happen. Where Americans disagree is on the extent to which each of these broad goals might be possible, and above all on what costs, risks, and trade-offs the country should accept in setting its priorities among them.

How involved America should be in world politics and what values it should seek to foster — and at what cost and risk — are questions that remain open, unanswered, and largely unaddressed.
—Robert Jervis, professor of political science Columbia University

These are significant disagreements, requiring confusing and sometimes painful choices. We may want to equip the U.S. military with state-of-the-art weaponry, but what toll will this exact on the economy, and are we willing to pay it? We may want to promote and defend democracy abroad, but what will we say if American soldiers are killed, or if our government must spend less on domestic programs in order to pay for our overseas involvement? We may want to focus on our domestic problems, but what if the countries of the world start closing their markets to us, or if Europe spirals toward war? We may want to

cooperate more closely with other countries, but what if their policy preferences clash sharply with those of the United States, or if their indecisiveness prevents our country from acting when its interests and duties are clear? We may want cheap imports and high wages, but what if these goals seem to lead in opposite directions? We may want all of these things. What trade-offs are we willing to accept?

Public choices

These are difficult issues that engage and often perplex our minds and our hearts. If clear thinking alone could settle them, then perhaps national policy could be left to the experts. But the experts disagree as sharply and as passionately on these issues as the public does. This is an historic moment, a time when U.S. leaders are struggling to set the nation's public policy agenda for the post-Cold War era. It is a time when input from concerned citizens is more important than ever.

The subject of this series can ultimately be reduced to one central question. In the words of Sheldon Hackney, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities: "Who are we as a nation and where are we going?" To address this question, we must not only consider the changes taking place in the world around us, but we must also consider the diverse but shared values that have driven policy decisions since our nation's beginnings, values that together define our American political culture.

What We Ask of You

- *Listen respectfully to the views of others and understand why they take the positions that they do.*
- *Consider the history of the issue under discussion.*
- *Weigh pros and cons, risks and trade-offs of alternative policies.*
- *Come to your own judgment based on serious consideration of divergent views.*
- *Search for the common ground on which to move forward at this critical moment in our nation's history.*

Choices for the 21st Century is different from most discussion programs with which you may be familiar. It is more than an intellectual exercise intended to help you understand what the experts and policymakers are thinking and doing. Experts can clarify the goals and trade-offs the nation must consider and they can lay out specific policy choices, along with their costs and risks. But experts and policymakers have no special insight into which goals should have priority and which risks are worth taking. These are decisions that all

Americans must make together. It is time for a national conversation about our future.

At the heart of this series is a "choices" framework of four alternative visions, or Futures, for the next decade. These are not the only possible Futures, but they represent a balanced spectrum of views and serve as vehicles for raising important issues. The Futures highlight contrasting policy directions, each driven by very different values. Each Future reflects very different assumptions about the goals of U.S. foreign policy, the nature of international relations, and the place of foreign policy in our national life. They are offered as a tool to help you weigh the pros and cons, risks and trade-offs of a range of fundamentally different alternatives and to consider the values that guide each alternative. In the end, you will be asked to draw from your understanding of these Futures to decide for yourself what you think U.S. policy should be in the years ahead.

What are Public Choices?

Public deliberation is at the heart of a healthy democracy. The kinds of decisions that citizens can and must make — "public choices" — are distinctly different from the sort that most policy experts consider.

- *Public choices address the goals and purposes that we want the nation's policy to aim toward.*
- *Public choices are grounded in value judgments; "expert choices" reflect technical considerations.*
- *Public choices consider long-term policy directions, not short-term strategies for implementation.*

Your reader has eight chapters. In this chapter, you have read about the currents of thought that have run through American history and explored how recent changes in the international environment have raised new questions for U.S. policy. The first session in your discussion series will be devoted to understanding the four Futures or visions for America. The Futures are described in Chapter 2. In the second and third sessions, you will examine specific challenges facing the United States today. Your reader includes five topics: "The Search for Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role;" "U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy;" "Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S Policy;" "Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy;" and "U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World." Two will be selected for discussion. We encourage you to browse through the others. Chapter 8 provides background for the fourth and final session of your series. In this session, you will be called upon to develop your own preferred Future Five, a Future that describes the role you

believe America should play in the years ahead.

The primary goal of this program is to enhance public deliberation on the future of U.S. policy in our rapidly changing world and to increase public participation in the democratic process. Over the course of this series, you will have the opportunity to challenge your own thinking in the company of others. You will want to ask yourself what has surprised you most about your own thinking regarding the best course for America's future. Has understanding the views of others influenced how you view the question? What is most important to you? Often the things we care deeply about are in conflict. What consequences are unacceptable? What trade-offs are you willing to make? Are there grounds for agreement among the participants in your group?

Democracy is not something we have — it is something we do.
—Frances Moore Lappe, co-director
Institute for the Arts of Democracy

Before you leave the final session of this series, we ask that you complete the brief ballot found at the end of this book. The results of this ballot will be tabulated and analyzed and then distributed to elected officials in your state and in Washington. This is your opportunity to add your voice to the ongoing national conversation on this important issue.

Chapter 2

Considering Four Futures

A Word about the Futures

The central question of this series is, "Who are we as a nation, and where are we going?" There are ultimately no simple answers. The program uses a framework of alternative "Futures" as a tool to help you think about this important question. The Futures highlight contrasting policy directions. Each is driven by a very different set of values reflecting different assumptions about the goals of U.S. foreign policy, the nature of international relations, and the place of foreign policy in our national life. In stark terms, the Futures illustrate some fundamentally different paths, each with distinctive pros and cons, risks and trade-offs.

These Futures are not the only choices on this issue. During the final session of this discussion series, you will have an opportunity to define your own Future that reflects your judgment about the role that you believe the United States should play in the post-Cold War world.

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Futures in Brief

Future 1 — Standing up for democracy and human rights

As the home of freedom and democracy, the United States has a special responsibility to promote American ideals throughout the world. History is on our side, but we must lend the process of change a helping hand. We must act boldly to stop the world's bullies and elevate the international standard for human rights. The United States must uphold a principled foreign policy. Without the Soviet threat hanging over us, Americans can make human rights and democracy our top foreign policy priority. By standing up for American values, we have the power to make a safer and more humane place for everyone.

Future 2 — Charting a stable course

In a world that has grown dangerously unstable, U.S. foreign policy must strive for order and security. To navigate through these unpredictable times, the United States cannot be distracted by crusading idealists or short-sighted isolationists. We have to concentrate on issues that are of vital importance to U.S. interests. Our relations with individual countries should serve our economic and security needs, not seek to change the world. Americans have no choice but to accept the world as it is, and do our best to make our country stronger.

Future 3 — Cooperating globally

We live in an interdependent and interconnected world. In an age when new breakthroughs in communication and transportation are making our planet smaller, we cannot separate U.S. problems from the problems affecting the world as a whole. We must take the initiative to bring the nations of the world together in a spirit of cooperation. The United Nations should be granted more responsibility to deal with environmental pollution, refugees, AIDS, and other global problems. We must recognize that our fate as Americans is bound together with the fate of all of humanity.

Future 4 — Turning inward

Since the late 1940s, the United States has spent billions of dollars a year defending our allies in Western Europe and East Asia. We have distributed billions more in foreign aid to countries throughout the developing world. Enough is enough. Americans simply cannot afford to be the world's generous uncle. Instead, we have to turn inward and deal with the real threats facing Americans. We must sharply scale back our foreign involvement. U.S. troops overseas should be brought home and military spending cut in half. Let the rest of the world learn to fend for itself. Americans have to put their own needs first.

FUTURE 1

Standing up for democracy and human rights

As the home of freedom and democracy, the United States has a special responsibility to promote American ideals throughout the world. In the Soviet Union, we saw how the values we hold dear inspired ordinary people to challenge the communist system. In many other countries as well, democracy and human rights have made important inroads in recent years. History is on our side, but we must lend the process of change a helping hand. Many states remain in the hands of cruel and undemocratic leaders who terrorize their own people and threaten their neighbors. We must act boldly to stop the world's bullies and elevate the international standard for human rights.

The United States must uphold a principled foreign policy. Without the Soviet threat hanging over us, Americans can make human rights and democracy our top foreign policy priority. We should support countries that are taking their first steps toward democracy. Foreign aid should be provided to governments that respect human rights and tolerate diversity within their societies. At times, we may have to act on our own and use military force to protect young democracies under attack by would-be tyrants. However, once the United States clearly demonstrates its commitment to democracy and human rights, few will dare test our country's resolve. By standing up for American values, we have the power to make the world a safer and more humane place for everyone.

The same idea attacked by fascism and communism remains under attack today. Now, as then, we are defending an idea that comes under many names — democracy, liberty, civility, pluralism — but has a constant face. It is the face of a tolerant society.
—Anthony Lake, national security adviser

What do we have to do?

- We should build U.S. foreign policy around the principles of democracy and human rights. The United States should not tolerate international aggression and flagrant abuses of human rights from regional troublemakers, such as the leaders of Iraq, North Korea, and Cuba. We should pressure China to allow its own citizens more freedom and to recognize the rights of the Tibetan people. We should promote democracy

in the former Soviet bloc. We should pressure Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, and other long-time allies to improve their human rights records as well.

•**Militarily**, we should use our country's might to defend the principles of democracy and human rights. We should keep our troops deployed around the world, and possibly use them to stop aggressive dictators from taking over their weaker neighbors. U.S. forces may also be called upon to stop tyrants, such as the former rulers of Haiti, from brutally repressing people within their own borders. We should break our alliances with governments that do not value democracy and human rights. This may mean closing our military bases in countries like Saudi Arabia and Turkey. In addition, we should provide arms only to our democratic allies.

To promote democracy and to help the victims of dictatorship, the United States could choose its friends and its allies more carefully. It could rule out alliances with terrorists, seek out and support democratic groups whenever it can find them....It would be moral intervention.
—A.M. Rosenthal, editorial columnist
New York Times

•**Economically**, we should impose boycotts and sanctions on countries that grossly violate the human rights of their citizens. We should use the promise of trade benefits and economic aid to encourage the countries of the former Soviet bloc and the developing world to adopt democratic principles and respect human rights.

Costs: This Future will require us to double our foreign aid budget (which currently accounts for less than 1 percent of total government spending). Our military forces would also be protected from further budget cuts, with more emphasis on strengthening our rapid deployment forces. Meanwhile, U.S. trade with undemocratic nations may suffer. For example, weapons exports to Saudi Arabia would be blocked unless the government there changed its policies. As the most dangerous regimes are replaced by democratic governments, we can expect military threats to gradually fade and global trade to increase.

Future 1 is based on these beliefs

•The United States is respected throughout the world as the champion of freedom, justice, democracy, and tolerance. As Americans, we have a

special responsibility to promote democracy and respect for human rights around the world, even if we have to act alone.

•Tyrannical regimes are the main human cause of suffering in the world. Without the checks and balances of democracy to restrain them, dictators typically oppress their own people and threaten their neighbors. To support them or turn a blind eye to their aggression is dangerous and immoral. We must stop them now.

•We have the most powerful military in the world and should not be afraid to use it to make the world a better place. As long as we remain militarily on guard, we can expect fewer problems from the world's troublemakers, and we may take bolder steps to promote democracy and respect for human rights.

Critics say:

1. Pressuring other governments to change their ways will spark international criticism that the United States is pursuing a double standard, particularly in light of the poverty and racial problems here at home.

2. Stressing the division between democratic and undemocratic countries will split the world into two opposing camps, as in the Cold War. Valuable allies, such as Saudi Arabia, will be lost while emerging powers in the developing world, such as China, will be branded as enemies.

3. Refusing to trade with undemocratic countries will only hurt the U.S. economy, since other countries will continue to do business with these nations. Meanwhile, the United States will cut itself off from important sources of oil and other raw materials.

4. Some societies in developing countries will not accept our definition of democracy and human rights. For example, we may want Islamic governments in the Middle East to give their citizens the same freedoms that we have, while ignoring the fact that the majority of people in the Muslim world value their traditional way of life and may not want American-style freedoms.

Supporters say:

1. Since democracies are much less likely to start wars against other democracies, we will be making the world a more peaceful place in the long run.

2. As new democracies take root and their economies prosper, they will become strong trading partners for the United States.

3. Helping Russia nurture the values of freedom and democracy will improve our relations with a country that is potentially the world's leading threat to U.S. security.

4. If we wait until the world's bullies become so powerful that we must confront them, as we did with Hitler in World War II, the cost will be enormous.

FUTURE 2

Charting a stable course

In a world that has grown dangerously unstable, U.S. foreign policy must strive for order and security. Angry nationalism in Russia, rising poverty and chaos in the developing world, the pressures of global economic competition, and other threats have created an international minefield for U.S. leaders. To navigate through these unpredictable times, the United States cannot be distracted by crusading idealists or short-sighted isolationists. A level-headed, calculating perspective is required. We have to concentrate on issues that are of vital importance to U.S. interests. That means focusing our energies on protecting our key trade relationships and stopping the spread of nuclear weapons to unfriendly nations. In volatile regions, like the Middle East, we should use our influence to establish a stable balance of power.

We do not have the luxury of putting our leadership on hold until we get our domestic house in order. Unfortunately, there is no holiday from history.
—Brent Scowcroft, former national security adviser

First and foremost, U.S. foreign policy must promote U.S. interests. Our relations with individual countries should serve our economic and security needs, not seek to change the world. In this competitive world, the United States cannot afford to sacrifice important trade ties to advance dreamy

political ideals. Neither should we give up our influence in international affairs for the sake of global cooperation. Americans have no choice but to accept the world as it is, and do our best to make our country stronger.

What do we have to do?

•We should remain actively involved in international affairs. Our military alliances and trading partnerships with Western Europe and Japan should continue to serve as the foundation of global stability. We should also seek to influence the other great powers of the world, particularly Russia and China. In areas of conflict, such as the Balkans and the Caribbean, the United States should be willing to act alone, when necessary, to protect U.S. interests. We should act decisively to prevent countries like North Korea and Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons or sponsoring international terrorism.

America must be selective in its actions. It cannot take on all the world's troubles. The public will soon grow weary if this country takes on the role of world policeman, or world nanny, or international Don Quixote.

—James Schlesinger, former defense secretary

•**Militarily**, we should maintain a strong presence abroad. Through our continued commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), we should guard against attempts by Russia to restore its empire by force. Russian politicians with an appetite for expansion must be shown that we will defend our key allies and trading partners in Western Europe, and we will block Russian meddling in the former communist states of Central Europe. Likewise, U.S. military ties to Japan, South Korea, and other East Asian countries should serve to keep Chinese ambitions in check. Military aid and arms exports should also be used as a tool of U.S. foreign policy. For example, we should assist rebel groups that are fighting to overthrow anti-American regimes. U.S. troops should be sent into battle only to protect vital U.S. interests, as was the case when the United States and its allies drove Iraq out of the oil-rich country of Kuwait.

•**Economically**, we should not let political differences with other countries harm our important trade relationships. We should not pressure other countries to change their domestic policies as long as they do not oppose U.S.

interests. Economic aid should be used to advance U.S. trade and investment in the former Soviet bloc and the developing world.

Costs: This Future will require us to maintain high levels of military spending to remain the world's superpower. If other nations agree to reduce their military spending, we may be able to cut our defense budget.

Future 2 is based on these beliefs

•The United States, like most other countries, benefits from stability. Efforts to fundamentally change the world inevitably backfire, resulting in dangerous instability and increased suffering.

•Other nations depend on the United States to be a source of stability and security in a violent and competitive world. More than any other country, we have the power to keep power-hungry nations in check and bring stability to volatile regions.

•We must be practical and maintain friendly relations with stable but undemocratic governments, such as Saudi Arabia and China, in order to protect U.S. interests.

Critics say:

1. We have tried such policies in the past and they have failed. If we and other nations had not armed Iraq in the 1980s to keep its neighbor, Iran, in check, we would not have had to fight Iraq in the Persian Gulf War. As World War I showed, even the most carefully arranged balance-of-power schemes eventually collapse.

2. Arranging alliances around the world was important back when we were fighting Soviet communism, but today no country seriously threatens the United States.

3. Maintaining our alliances with cruel dictators sets back the cause of human rights and the worldwide movement toward democracy.

4. Taking a hostile stance toward Russia and China will undermine

international cooperation on critical global issues, such as controlling nuclear weapons and cleaning up pollution.

Supporters say:

1. U.S. involvement in areas of tension, such as the Middle East and the Korean peninsula, will contribute to a stable balance of power and reduce the possibility of war. As a result, countries will be less likely to seek to acquire nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

2. A forceful U.S. presence in international affairs will discourage emerging powers, such as China, from building up their military might and expanding their influence at the expense of their neighbors.

3. Maintaining our long-standing military alliances in Western Europe and East Asia will help us protect U.S. interests and put today's shaky international system on firm ground.

4. By keeping politics from interfering with our business interests, we will gain new markets for American products and enjoy access to the raw materials critical to our economic prosperity.

FUTURE 3

Cooperating globally

We live in an interdependent and interconnected world. Environmental problems, such as ozone depletion and global warming, threaten the ecology of the entire planet. Political upheaval in the Caribbean and the former Soviet bloc sends waves of refugees to U.S. shores. National boundaries do little to halt the spread of AIDS, international drug trafficking, terrorism, and other global scourges. In an age when new breakthroughs in communication and transportation are making our planet smaller, we cannot separate U.S. problems from the problems affecting the world as a whole.

We must take the initiative to bring the nations of the world together in a spirit of cooperation. The United Nations (UN) should be granted more responsibility to deal with environmental pollution, refugees, AIDS, and

The post-Cold War era...provides...the opportunity to strive for truly collective security and an international rule of law, in which self-help by the use of military force for resolving conflicts among nations loses its legitimacy.
—Carl Kaysen, Robert McNamara, George Rathjens

other global problems. In addition, the United States should join with Japan, Western Europe, and its other wealthy allies to help the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America lift themselves out of poverty. Instead of trying to police the world ourselves, we should use military force outside of North America only under UN leadership. Building a more cooperative world will not be easy. Americans will have to reassess their national interests. In the end, however, we must recognize that our fate as Americans is bound together with the fate of all of humanity. On our shrinking planet, there is nowhere to hide from the global challenges of the future.

What do we have to do?

•We should consult with other nations as we chart our foreign policy. Whenever possible, we should act not on our own but as part of a coordinated international effort. We should support international boycotts and embargoes against countries such as Iraq, North Korea, and Yugoslavia that break international law, violate the rights of other nations, or endanger global peace.

•**Militarily**, we should not send our troops to fight outside of North America without the approval of the fifteen-nation United Nations Security Council. (As permanent members on the council, the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and China each have veto power over the council's decisions.) We should work to establish a permanent UN military force ready to bring peace to troubled areas. At the same time, we should gradually reduce the number of U.S. troops around the world, with the goal of eventually having no independent U.S. forces outside of North America. Finally, the United States should lead a worldwide effort to reduce arms exports and lower military spending.

•**Economically**, we should spearhead international efforts to improve economic and environmental conditions in the developing world and the former Soviet bloc. In exchange for cooperation on environmental issues, we

should forgive the billions of dollars in debt that are owed us by countries in the developing world and the former Soviet bloc. In accordance with UN recommendations, we should commit ourselves to earmarking 0.7 percent of our gross national product (about $45 billion in 1993) for economic assistance. These funds will be administered primarily by international organizations. Rather than using aid to pursue short-term foreign policy gains, we should join in an international effort to reduce poverty and lay the foundation for greater global harmony.

Costs: As a permanent UN military force becomes established, we will no longer need to remain the world's military superpower, and may greatly cut back on our military spending. Most of the money saved will be earmarked for economic assistance projects in the developing world and the former Soviet bloc, and for arming and funding our share of the UN force.

Future 3 is based on these beliefs

•We live in an interdependent world. If humanity is to have a hopeful future, we must work cooperatively to address global problems that affect us all, such as the destruction of tropical rainforests, refugee crises driven by conflict, and international drug trafficking.

•U.S. problems are global problems, and can be solved only through global cooperation. Trying to deal with ozone depletion, AIDS, and other global problems without the involvement of all nations is like building a dam halfway across a raging river.

A pragmatic vision of the post-Cold War world involves multiple international organizations dedicated to solving particular problems. These would have overlapping membership and substantial power for well-defined purposes. The United States would make cooperative problem solving a central theme of its diplomatic efforts.
—Alice Rivlin, former director Congressional Budget Office

•Cooperating globally is only fair. The earth does not belong to us. Americans comprise only 5 percent of the world's population, and the United States is but one of nearly 200 countries in the world. Neither the United States nor any other country has the right to decide on its own to pressure another country to behave in a certain way.

Critics say:

1. By handing over so much of our power to international organizations, we will lose much of our international influence. Russia, China, Japan, and other leading powers will take advantage of our cooperative spirit to make themselves stronger at our expense.

2. Giving up our option to use military force outside of North America will severely limit U.S. flexibility in international affairs and encourage our enemies to defy us.

3. Many countries are run by corrupt and cruel governments. Strengthening international organizations in which tyrants have a voice and giving them more foreign aid will only make such regimes stronger.

4. Before we spend billions of dollars trying to solve the world's ills, we should address the many problems we face at home.

Supporters say:

1. The world is becoming increasingly interdependent. Global problems are posing an ever greater challenge to the nations of the world and usually do not lend themselves to military solutions. Cooperating globally puts us in step with the world of the future.

2. Giving more power and authority to international organizations does not make us powerless. On the contrary, individual nations are already powerless to cope with a growing range of global problems. By bringing nations together to solve common problems, we will gain the strength to deal with the challenges of tomorrow's world.

3. The economic assistance we gave Western Europe and Japan after World War II helped boost international trade and strengthen the U.S. economy. Aiding the countries of the developing world and the former Soviet bloc will likewise benefit the United States in the long run.

4. By cooperating globally, the United States will once and for all erase its image as an international bully and gain greater respect from other nations.

FUTURE 4

Turning inward

Since the late 1940s, the United States has spent billions of dollars a year defending our allies in Western Europe and East Asia. We have distributed billions more in foreign aid to countries throughout the developing world. Economically, we have stood for the principles of free trade, and have even opened the American market to exports from countries that follow unfair trade practices. And what do we have to show for our efforts? Our so-called allies, such as Japan and Germany, took advantage of the defense umbrella we offered to pull ahead of us economically in many areas. Much of the foreign aid we have given has been squandered on ungrateful Third World tyrants. Finally, our economic competitors have exploited our commitment to free trade to saddle us with chronic trade deficits. Enough is enough. Americans simply cannot afford to be the world's generous uncle. Instead, we have to turn inward and deal with the real threats facing Americans: our struggle for economic competitiveness, spiraling national debt, decaying inner cities, declining educational standards, a shaky health care system, crime, drugs, AIDS, and homelessness. If we do not straighten out our priorities, the United States will become a second-rate nation.

What is desperately required is a psychological turn inward....Taking on new commitments in the Middle East and Persian Gulf while maintaining most of the old ones in Europe and the Far East cannot be justified in the face of a disastrous domestic agenda...

—William G. Hyland, former editor
Foreign Affairs

We must sharply scale back our foreign involvement. U.S. troops overseas should be brought home and military spending cut in half. We will still have plenty of military muscle to defend North America and protect Americans abroad, but we should no longer sacrifice our future to maintain the status of military superpower. Foreign aid, other than for humanitarian emergencies, should be eliminated. The hundreds of billions of dollars we save should be used to address pressing national problems and reduce taxes. Let the rest of the world learn to fend for itself. As Americans, we have to put our own needs first.

What do we have to do?

•We should cut our military and political ties overseas and refocus our attention on domestic problems. Our attitude toward other countries should not be belligerent or hostile, but the world should understand that the United States must put the interests of Americans first.

•**Militarily**, we should gradually phase out our alliances outside of North America. We should make it clear that we will join other countries militarily only when our security is directly threatened. We should redesign our armed forces to defend only North America. A small force should be specially trained to respond around the world when American lives are at stake (for example, during a hostage crisis, or to evacuate Americans from a hostile country). These steps will allow the United States to gradually cut its military budget in half.

It is primarily by example, never by precept, that a country such as ours exerts the most useful influence beyond its borders....unless we preserve the quality, the vigor and the morale of our own society, we will be of little use to anyone at all.
—George F. Kennan, former ambassador to the Soviet Union

•**Economically**, we should protect American industries from unfair foreign competition. U.S. trade policy should be driven strictly by American economic interests, not by idealistic foreign policy goals to promote global harmony or bolster democracy. We should work to substantially reduce our dependence on foreign oil. As we scale down our military, we should rely more on boycotts, sanctions, and other non-military levers of influence as our main tools to make the United States secure.

Costs: This Future will allow us to cut our military budget in half, which will eventually free up nearly $135 billion annually. We will redirect this money toward addressing our domestic problems and reducing taxes.

Future 4 is based on these beliefs

•Most the problems afflicting the world beyond U.S. borders cannot be solved by the United States. Rather, U.S. leaders should strive to ensure that the misery and poverty common to most of the planet do not overtake the United States.

•International power and influence in today's world are measured in terms of economic strength, not military might. In the global struggle for economic competitiveness, the United States cannot afford to fall behind its economic rivals in East Asia and Western Europe. In this contest, the military and foreign entanglements that the United States built up during the Cold War are a burden on our country.

•The greatest threats facing the United States today are at home. To remain strong as a nation, we must turn our energies away from foreign affairs and face these threats.

Critics say:

1. Pulling our troops out of Western Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia will upset the worldwide balance of power and spark wars. In response, insecure countries will seek to acquire nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

2. Throwing away our option to use military force outside of North America will leave the United States incapable of standing up for democracy or protecting our economic interests. As in World War II, the United States will eventually be forced to undertake a costly military build-up to combat threats from overseas.

3. After winning the Cold War, we would be foolish not to actively promote democracy and stability in the former Soviet Union. This region is too unstable and possesses too many destructive weapons to be ignored.

4. The Persian Gulf War showed us that economic sanctions have their limits, and that military strength is still a decisive factor in shaping the world. If we sharply cut our military spending, we will be unable to defeat the next Saddam Hussein that crosses us.

Supporters say:

1. Scaling back U.S. involvement overseas will free up resources needed to restore American economic strength.

2. It is time to reap the fruits of our victory in the Cold War. Now that there are no major military threats facing us or any of our allies, we can afford to beat most of our swords into plowshares.

3. By giving top priority to our domestic problems, we will be in a much better position to serve as a model for other countries.

4. Sharply cutting U.S. military spending will encourage other leading powers to reduce their spending on defense and will lower tensions worldwide.

Chapter 3

The Search for Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role

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In late November 1994, attacking Bosnian Serb forces fought their way into the outskirts of Bihac, a town in northwestern Bosnia that had been designated a "safe area" by the United Nations (UN). The Serbian advance

Defining Terms

State sovereignty

Sovereignty means freedom from external control. Traditionally, governments have strongly defended the principle of sovereignty. They have worked cooperatively only with the understanding that their sovereignty would be protected. In practical terms, sovereignty has never been absolute. Strong countries influence the policies of weaker countries. In recent decades, sovereign states have encountered pressure from institutions that extend beyond national boundaries as well as from minority groups or regional interests within their borders.

Territorial integrity

Territorial integrity means that national borders should not be forcibly changed. Since the end of World War II, the international community has upheld the principle of territorial integrity as a means of maintaining peace and stability. Although statesmen argue that support for territorial integrity has discouraged aggression and prevented the breakup of states, the principle of territorial integrity has also left much of Africa and Asia with borders drawn by 19th century colonial powers. Africa, in particular, has been torn by conflicts that often trace their origins to inherited colonial borders.

Self-determination

Self-determination means the right of a people to govern its own affairs. Self-determination often conflicts with the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. With literally thousands of ethnic groups in the world, fully honoring the principle of self-determination could lead to the creation of thousands of countries.

Minority rights

Minority rights means establishing a special set of laws to protect minority groups. Minority rights may allow a group to operate its own schools, promote its language and culture, or take responsibility for the functions of local government. In many parts of the world, central governments have refused to concede rights to minority groups. They fear that granting minority rights will encourage minority groups to form separate states. Others believe that granting minority communities local autonomy and group rights will prevent conflict.

Conflict resolution

Conflict resolution means the involvement of an outside party to bring peace to an area. Approaches to conflict resolution generally fall into three categories: diplomacy in which an outside party may arrange negotiations or offer itself as an arbitrator, sanctions intended to pressure a party to change its policies, and the threat or use of force.

came only a few days after U.S. warplanes had led air raids ordered by the UN against Serbian air bases and missile sites in Bosnia and neighboring Croatia. Defense Secretary William Perry, however, was soon forced to concede that air strikes alone would not stop the Serbs from overrunning Bihac. That would require sending ground troops to Bosnia, according to Perry, and neither the United States nor its allies were willing to make such a commitment.

The U.S. response to conflict in Bosnia contrasted sharply with American policy in Haiti two months earlier. On September 19, 1994, thousands of American troops landed in the Caribbean nation and quickly established themselves as the main authority on the island. Although the soldiers had come ashore unopposed as the result of a last-minute deal between American negotiators and Haiti's military rulers, the task ahead of them was formidable. U.S. forces were expected to restore order, oversee the transfer of power to the elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and retrain Haiti's army and police. American leaders nonetheless voiced confidence that U.S. objectives would be met.

Bosnia is nearly half a world away from Haiti, but both countries bear the scars of violence and suffering. Bosnia has been torn by war involving the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats of former Yugoslavia since 1992. In Haiti, the current conflict began when a military coup overthrew the country's democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, in 1991. Why, then, were American troops sent to Haiti but not to Bosnia?

The question touches directly on our country's role in the post-Cold War world. Without the menace of Soviet communism at the top of the U.S. foreign policy agenda, conflicts in places like Bosnia and Haiti have captured the attention of Americans. And yet neither Bosnia nor Haiti fits into the Cold War parameters of national security. Neither state has vital natural resources, like the oil of the Persian Gulf region. Nor is there concern that Bosnia and Haiti are breeding grounds for communism or another forceful ideology that would present a worldwide threat to U.S. interests. Moreover, neither country is likely to give rise to a power-hungry dictator comparable to Adolf Hitler.

Rather, Bosnia and Haiti represent a new set of challenges for Americans. The conflicts that have arisen since the end of the Cold War have compelled us to rethink our national interests and our relationship with the international community. Before our country decides whether or not to send American troops abroad, we must grapple with a wide range of difficult

questions. How do we balance our concern for human rights against the notion that states should be left alone to manage their own affairs? How can we use our diplomatic and economic influence to avoid the use of force? Should our country's policy toward intervening internationally be governed by a broad strategy, or should each case be weighed separately? Finally, should U.S. policies reflect the decisions of the UN, or should we chart our own course? This chapter will help prepare you to consider these questions.

Origins of the International Community

The concept of an international community began with the emergence of nation-states in Western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. As Britain, France, Spain, and other nation-states grew in wealth and power, the unifying authority of the Roman Catholic Church weakened. Rather than thinking of themselves as part of one Christendom, European leaders increasingly sought to promote the interests of their own nation-states.

In the new environment, national rulers were forced to consider problems of international relations. The greatest progress came as a result of war. The Thirty Years War (1618-48) was a critical turning point. Millions died from warfare and starvation as marauding armies laid waste to much of central Europe. From the horrors of battle came a new international consensus. European leaders avoided inflaming the religious passions that had fed the barbarity of the Thirty Years War.

The next large-scale war in Europe did not occur until the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Napoleonic Wars of 1796-1815 illustrated the deadly power of new military technologies and, like the Thirty Years War, resulted in enormous destruction. When Napoleon was finally defeated in 1815, statesmen once again sought to shape an international system that would prevent future wars.

A new international system

From 1815 to 1914, the great powers of the age, known as the Concert of Europe, ruled the global system. As European countries extended their influence throughout the world, the Concert increasingly governed international affairs. Peace treaties were signed, the map of the Balkans was redrawn, and Africa was divided among European colonial empires. The International Peace Conferences at the Hague in the Netherlands in 1899 and 1907 added a new dimension to the international system. Far-sighted participants spoke of one day bringing together all the countries of the world.

World War I swept away the self-confidence and optimism that Europe's statesmen had developed during the 19th century. Many observers asserted that diplomatic miscalculation had triggered the conflict and that regular international conferences with procedures for conflict resolution could have prevented World War I.

President Woodrow Wilson shared this belief. In January 1918, he unveiled his fourteen-point proposal to reshape international

SECTION 1

A new era

During the four decades of the Cold War, the purpose of U.S. foreign policy seemed clear: to oppose the spread of communism — with force when necessary. When the Cold War died out in the late 1980s, the international

relations. Central to Wilson's plan were self-determination, open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, free trade, and arms limitation. A permanent global organization — the League of Nations — would oversee the new international system. Wilson's idealism, however, ran up against British and French efforts to use the League as a means to protect their interests.

After the League of Nations treaty took effect in January 1920, the organization's structural flaws became more apparent. On the one hand, supporters claimed that the League expanded the progress of the prewar International Peace Conferences at the Hague. On the other hand, critics argued that the League was largely a tool of Britain and France. Ultimately, the U.S. Senate defied Wilson and rejected American participation in the League. The British and French deliberately excluded other important countries (such as Germany and the Soviet Union) from joining.

The requirement that all League members agree to important decisions often blocked action. Confronted with its first major challenge in 1931, the League failed to stop the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Later in the 1930s, it proved powerless in the face of Italian and German aggression. By the time World War II began, international statesmen had all but given up on the League of Nations.

The United Nations

In October 1943, with World War II still raging, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and China agreed in principle to create the United Nations to replace the defunct League. These four Allies, along with France, were largely responsible for the development of the UN's structure and became permanent members of the organization's Security Council. Each of the five members could veto UN decisions. Thus, the Security Council was assigned primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. In June 1945, fifty-five nations signed the UN Charter in San Francisco.

By the late 1940s, the bitter divisions of the Cold War had overwhelmed the carefully laid plans of the UN's founders. Because of the veto system, U.S.-Soviet hostility often prevented the Security Council from making decisions. Wherever key U.S. and Soviet interests clashed, there was little hope of resolving conflicts through UN mechanisms. Nonetheless, the UN undertook thirteen peacekeeping operations from 1948 to 1987.

Wayne Stayskal in the Tampa Tribune. Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services.

system that had prevailed since World War II went with it.

As the threat of nuclear war between the superpowers faded, small-scale civil wars and smoldering territorial disputes — most often within states rather than between states — gained international prominence. Several ethnic conflicts in the former Soviet bloc that had been smothered by the heavy hand of the communist system reignited as the Soviet Union crumbled. Other areas, especially where borders had been drawn by the imperial powers of Europe, were viewed as powder kegs of conflict.

At the same time, the end of the Cold War brought new possibilities for international compromise and cooperation. For the first time since World War II, the UN was not paralyzed by division. After the late 1980s, the United States and the Soviet Union (later Russia) worked together through the UN to resolve conflicts in areas where they had once shipped weapons to opposing forces. Afghanistan, Central America, and other hot spots were no longer seen as regional contests between the United States and the Soviet Union. In El Salvador, for example, outside support for both the pro-American government and the pro-communist rebels dried up when the Cold War ended. The two sides signed a UN-sponsored peace agreement in 1991.

Greater demand for UN support

Increasingly, the UN has been given the responsibility for maintaining international peace. In 1987, the UN was directing five peacekeeping operations with 10,000 soldiers and an annual budget of $233 million. By 1994, the UN's peacekeeping role had expanded to include seventeen operations involving 72,000 soldiers at a cost of $3.5 billion a year. The two biggest operations — in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia — were each supported by more than 25,000 troops.

The UN itself does not have an army. Rather, the organization must rely on member countries to provide troops and financial support. No country

is more important to UN peacekeeping efforts than the United States. The United States is capable of contributing highly trained soldiers with the latest weaponry to UN operations. Furthermore, Americans pay 30 percent of the bill for UN peacekeeping.

Advocates of the UN urge leaders worldwide to fulfill the original goals of the UN Charter to protect international peace. The changing nature of conflict, however, leads others to question the relevance of the UN's original vision. The UN Charter was written to resolve conflicts between states. Still fresh in the minds of the UN's founders was the failure of the League of Nations to stop the aggression of Germany and Japan against their neighbors. The conflicts that have appeared on the UN agenda in recent years do not fit this earlier model.

Rethinking UN operations

UN peacekeeping efforts in the post-Cold War era are expected to accomplish increasingly ambitious tasks. In Cambodia, for example, the United Nations has been called upon to oversee elections, sponsor peace talks among warring factions, resettle refugees, and rebuild state institutions such as the police force and army. In short, today the United Nations is often given responsibility for picking up the pieces of a country that has fallen apart.

The job of UN peacekeepers is frequently made more difficult by the presence of free-wheeling militias that ignore government authority. When UN peacekeepers took up positions in 1948 in the Middle East and Kashmir, they could count on the discipline and order of the armies involved. In contrast, UN forces in Somalia in 1993 and 1994 found themselves caught in the cross fire among rival groups that did not respect negotiated agreements. Rather than acting as a neutral party, UN troops were instructed to punish forces that threatened peace. With little advance warning, they were forced to become peacemakers rather than peacekeepers.

SECTION 2

Current case studies

The Persian Gulf War marked a definitive end to the bipolar international system of the Cold War. For the first time in UN history, the world's leading powers stood together to oppose an act of international aggression. Within hours of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the UN Security

Council had demanded Iraq's immediate withdrawal. An economic blockade soon followed. In January 1991, twenty-eight countries participated in the U.S.-led coalition that defeated Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein.

The Persian Gulf War represented a victory for the founding ideals of the UN and raised hopes that the original goals of the UN Charter would serve as the basis for international relations in the post-Cold War world. The lessons of the war, however, have proved limited in their relevance. Less than two years after orchestrating the international community's response to Saddam Hussein, President George Bush sent 25,000 American troops to Somalia at the urging of the UN to safeguard international relief efforts. Bush had hoped that the Somalia operation would serve as a successful model for international intervention. Instead, Somalia turned many Americans against international involvement. The American public was particularly outraged by a clash in October 1993 between U.S. forces and a Somali militia that left eighteen Americans and 300 Somalis dead. By the time the last American troops withdrew from the East African country in March 1994, Somalia was slipping toward chaos and other members of the UN force were questioning the purpose of the operation.

The contrasting experiences of the United States in the Persian Gulf and Somalia have shaped the debate about our country's role in international intervention in the post-Cold War era. In fighting against Iraq, well-defined military goals and effective international coordination helped American leaders rally public support behind U.S. involvement. The Somalia mission, however, lacked the clear sense of purpose of a conventional war, leaving many Americans frustrated and angry.

Foreign policy analysts predict that the international challenges the United States will confront in the future will more often resemble Somalia than Iraq. That means that American troops will increasingly be called upon to act more like policemen than soldiers, and that American leaders will face a growing list of requests from the international community for U.S. foreign aid and mediation services. As a nation, we can expect more difficult choices ahead about when and where to commit U.S. resources. In the following pages, you will examine four current conflicts that bring into sharper focus the questions surrounding the U.S. role in international intervention.

The Kurds in northern Iraq

Since the Persian Gulf War ended in 1991, almost 4 million Kurds in northern Iraq have depended largely on the international community to

protect them from the Iraqi army and to provide them with relief supplies. The UN operation in northern Iraq set an important precedent. By intervening in a sovereign state for humanitarian purposes, the UN operation paved the way for similar actions in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia.

For the moment, northern Iraq's Kurds are governing themselves in an area of 15,000 square miles (less than half the size of South Carolina). To the south of the Kurdish zone, however, Iraqi troops remain positioned for attack. Little progress has been made on reaching an understanding between the Kurdish leadership and Saddam Hussein.

The Kurds, an ancient people of the Middle East, live by the adage: "The mountains are our only friends." More than 20 million Kurds are scattered over five countries in the Middle East. The largest group, about 12 million, lives in Turkey, while another 5 million Kurds are based in Iran and 4.5 million in Iraq. The Kurds constitute the largest ethnic group in the Middle East without a state of its own. The Kurds have been among the chief losers in the political changes that have swept over the Middle East in the 20th century. The Kurds failed to achieve statehood at the end of World War I, when the Allied powers were redrawing the map of the defeated Ottoman Turkish empire. Although Kurdish nationalists lobbied President Wilson and other Western leaders, their interests were ignored in the final peace settlement.

During the Cold War, the Kurds served largely as a tool of U.S. and Soviet policy in the Middle East. In the early 1970s, Kurdish guerrillas received U.S. aid to press their campaign for autonomy against the pro-Soviet regime in Iraq. In 1974, however, U.S. aid was suddenly stopped at the request of the shah of Iran, an American ally. The Kurdish guerrilla movement was then subject to a war of extermination orchestrated by Iraq's Saddam Hussein. An estimated 4,200 Kurdish villages were destroyed by the Iraqi army. At least 180,000 Kurds were forced out of their homeland, either dying at the

hands of Iraqi soldiers or crowded into camps in southern Iraq. The most well-known incident of Saddam's brutality took place in 1988, when Iraq's air force dropped poison gas on the town of Halabja. At least 5,000 people were killed in the attack.

The Persian Gulf War opened a new chapter in Kurdish history. With the quick defeat of Iraq's army by the U.S.-led coalition in early 1991, the Kurds of northern Iraq saw an opportunity to overthrow Saddam Hussein. Along with Shi'ite Muslims in southern Iraq and other opposition forces, Kurdish guerrillas renewed their rebellion against the Iraqi army. International support for the rebellion, however, evaporated after Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and other Middle Eastern states voiced concern that the disintegration of Iraq would destabilize the region.

With the shift in international attitudes, Saddam Hussein concentrated the remainder of his army on smashing the Kurdish resistance. The Iraqi advance pushed nearly 2 million panicked Kurds across the border into Turkey and Iran. Hundreds died in snowy mountain passes and makeshift

A. Hollmann. Courtesy of the United Nations.

Kurdish refugees from northern Iraq receive U.N. food aid.

refugee camps. In response to the crisis, 20,000 troops from the U.S.-led coalition carved out a security zone for the Kurds near the Turkish border. They also warned that Iraqi warplanes flying north of the 36th parallel would be shot down. In a matter of days, a UN-authorized safe haven had been created mostly by U.S. forces.

Since Kurdish guerrillas beat back an Iraqi offensive in the summer of 1991, both sides have settled into a tense standoff. The Iraqi army has enforced a blockade against the Kurdish zone, resulting in widespread hunger and forcing the Kurds to rely mostly on trade across the borders of Turkey and Iran. Relations with Turkey are especially delicate. Turkey has served as the main economic lifeline of the Kurds in northern Iraq. At the same time, the Turkish government has applied heavy-handed measures to defeat Kurdish rebels in eastern Turkey.

To secure their future in northern Iraq, the Kurds have organized a 100,000-man army, held elections, and organized a coalition government. Most leading Kurds profess that they are seeking autonomy within Iraq, not independence. Political unity among the Kurds, however, suffered from factional fighting in 1994 that claimed 4,000 lives. On the international scene, the UN continues to impose an embargo on Iraq while supplying $145 million annually in emergency aid to the Kurds. The international troops are gone from northern Iraq, but the no-fly zone is still enforced, mostly by American pilots flying out of a U.S. air base in Turkey. Few of those close to the conflict expect Saddam Hussein to compromise with his Kurdish citizens.

Bosnia

Bosnia (or Bosnia-Herzegovina) has been the scene of the bloodiest conflict in Europe since World War II. By 1994, nearly 200,000 people had died in the struggle. Another 2 million had become refugees. Located in the middle of the Balkan peninsula, a region with a long history of fiery nationalism

S. Whitehouse. Courtesy of the United Nations.

A UN soldier on patrol in Bosnia.

and war, Bosnia was once one of Europe's most ethnically mixed areas. When conflict broke out there in 1992, Bosnia was regarded as a test of the international community's ability to halt the spread of aggressive nationalism in the former Soviet bloc. Beginning in February 1994, the UN ordered military action to end the fighting. By the end of the year, however, the continued defiance of Bosnian Serb forces had forced the international community to re-evaluate its strategy.

International attention turned to Bosnia shortly after the Soviet Union fell apart. Like the republics of the former Soviet Union, Bosnia had been part of a multi-ethnic communist country. As in the Soviet Union, communism had masked many of Yugoslavia's ethnic problems. In both countries, the late 1980s saw old wounds reopen.

Yugoslavia, which means the land of the South Slavs, was formed by the international statesmen who redrew the map of Europe after World War I. In fact, the peoples of Yugoslavia had never been united by a single national identity. During the 1920s and 1930s, little progress was made in promoting unity among the Yugoslavs. Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia in World War II opened a period of terrible bloodshed. More than 1 million people died in the country during the war, many of them at the hands of their fellow Yugoslavs. By 1945, the defeat of the Nazis and a cruel civil war brought communist leader Marshal Tito to power.

Tito's iron-fisted rule and popularity as a wartime hero held Yugoslavia together during the Cold War. Under Tito, a complex federal system distributed political power

among Yugoslavia's ethnic groups. After Tito's death in 1980, however, the country's power-sharing arrangement fell apart and a period of political and economic crisis began. In the republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic gained power in 1987 and pledged to promote Serbian rights. Milosevic's moves to assert Serbia's dominance in turn fed nationalism in Yugoslavia's other republics. In 1991 and 1992, the republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia declared independence. Fighting erupted in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 before spilling over into Bosnia in early 1992. (Only two republics — Serbia and Montenegro — remained part of Yugoslavia.)

Bosnia had been Yugoslavia's most ethnically mixed republic — a "little Yugoslavia" where Bosnian Muslim, Serb, and Croat communities lived side by side in mountain villages. In Bosnia's capital of Sarajevo, the site of the 1984 Winter Olympics, the three groups shared one of Europe's most ethnically diverse cities.

While Bosnia's Muslims and Croats supported the creation of an independent Bosnian state, local Serbs feared they would be subject to persecution. Once fighting broke out, the toll of the Bosnian war quickly surpassed that of the other conflicts in former Yugoslavia. Although all sides were guilty of atrocities, Bosnian Serb forces were responsible for most of the brutality against civilians. The Serbs sought to eliminate Muslims and Croats from areas under their control. The process of "ethnic cleansing" was carried out through torture, gang rape, concentration camps, and massacre. By 1993, Bosnian Serb forces controlled 70 percent of Bosnia's territory.

Early in 1992, the UN established a small peacekeeping force for Sarajevo, prohibited Serbian aircraft from flying over Bosnia, and imposed economic sanctions on Milosevic's government. The UN also blocked arms shipments to all parties involved in the fighting. (The arms embargo gave the Bosnian Serbs, who received weapons from the Yugoslav army under Milosevic, a clear advantage over the poorly armed Bosnian Muslims.) In the summer of 1992, the UN authorized the use of "all measures necessary" to ensure that food and medicine reached people suffering in Bosnia. In addition, the UN and the European Union sponsored a series of negotiations and helped draft several peace plans.

Over the next two years, international involvement in Bosnia steadily deepened. The UN established seven "safe areas" and by the end of 1993 had increased the number of peacekeeping troops to 13,000. International efforts, however, failed to halt the violence. Although the UN issued strongly worded resolutions, there was no military commitment to back them up. UN

forces on the ground were caught in a state of limbo. Their mission called on them to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief, and yet they were not equipped to resist Bosnian Serb aggression.

The Bosnian conflict entered a new stage in 1994. In February, U.S. pilots led air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions. The raids, carried out by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), marked the first time the international community had carried through on a threat to use force in Bosnia. Fearing additional attacks, Bosnian Serb forces agreed to stop shelling Sarajevo and to move their heavy guns beyond the range of the city.

On the diplomatic front, the United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia worked together to negotiate a peace settlement. Bosnian Croats and Muslims signed an agreement to end fighting between them and form a federation in Bosnia loosely tied to Croatia. In July 1994, the five world powers unveiled a new peace plan. Under the proposal, the Muslim-led Bosnian government would have controlled 51 percent of Bosnia's territory, while the Bosnian Serbs would have governed the remaining 49 percent. Bosnian government leaders reluctantly approved the plan, but their Bosnian Serb counterparts defiantly rejected it. To pressure the Bosnian Serb leadership, international diplomats turned to Serbian President Milosevic. With his country crippled by a UN economic embargo, Milosevic urged his Bosnian Serb allies to accept the peace plan. He even cut off the supply routes between Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb army. (Supplies from Yugoslavia, however, continued to reach the Bosnian Serbs through Serb-controlled territory in Croatia.) In turn, economic sanctions against Yugoslavia were eased in October.

Prospects for peace, however, were stymied by the hard-line position of the Bosnian Serbs. By the fall of 1994, the war in Bosnia had flared up again. The Muslim-led Bosnian government initially seized the initiative, breaking through Serbian lines around Bihac and gaining ground in central Bosnia. A Bosnian Serb counterattack in early November, however, quickly erased Bosnian advances. NATO air strikes around Bihac, with U.S. warplanes again in the lead, did little to slow the Bosnian Serb offensive. By the end of the year, a tentative cease-fire had stopped the most intense fighting.

U.S. policy was also a casualty of the renewed hostilities. As the Bosnian Serbs closed in on Bihac, President Bill Clinton favored broader air strikes against the Serbian forces. Congress had voted earlier to lift the arms embargo against the Bosnian government. Opposition from France and Britain, however, forced the president to retreat from his call for tougher military action. (France and Britain had contributed more troops than any other nations

to the 24,000-man UN peacekeeping operation in place in Bosnia at the end of 1994.) In line with the European position, U.S. officials asserted that their policy toward Bosnia would focus on maintaining cohesion within NATO and preventing the Bosnian conflict from spilling over into other areas of the Balkans. They were also concerned about angering Russia, historically a defender of the Serbs.

If peace comes to Bosnia, or if UN peacekeepers have to be withdrawn, the United States has promised that as many as 25,000 American troops will take part in an international operation. For the time being, a U.S. force of 600 peacekeepers is stationed in neighboring Macedonia.

Haiti

Haiti's history bears the marks of political turmoil, poverty, and U.S. intervention. The current round of U.S. involvement in Haiti began in September 1991, when the country's democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was forced from power by the Haitian military. As conditions for Haiti's 6.5 million people turned increasingly desperate, fear grew that thousands of them would try to seek refuge in the United States.

Haiti shares the Caribbean island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic. The French began colonizing the island in the 16th century, bringing in African slaves to work their plantations. In 1804, Haiti gained independence from France after slaves organized a successful revolt. Haiti's rulers, however, failed to establish a stable political system on the island. In 1915, U.S. Marines landed in Haiti to establish order and ensure that the

island did not fall under German influence. The Marines remained until 1934, leaving behind a country that was administered chiefly by the military.

From 1957 to 1986, Haiti was governed by Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier and his son Jean Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier. The Duvalier dynasty brought a measure of political stability to Haiti, but the great majority of Haitians saw little improvement in their lives. Increasingly, Haitian society was divided between a small, educated elite in the well-kept neighborhoods of Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital, and a huge poverty-stricken class of illiterate farmers and slum dwellers. Duvalier's police force and army maintained the social structure through a combination of brutality, intimidation, and voodoo. Haiti became the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere.

The corruption of "Baby Doc" Duvalier ultimately triggered his downfall in 1986. After Duvalier fled to France, however, Haiti's troubles continued. A series of military leaders laid claim to power but lacked the strength to establish control over the government. Meanwhile, a grass-roots movement for democracy slowly gathered momentum among Haiti's poor.

With the support of the international community, Haiti held its first fully democratic election in 1990. The results were a rejection of the old elite. Aristide, a Roman Catholic priest closely identified with the democracy movement, won 67 percent of the vote in a field of eleven candidates. His promise to reorganize the army and police force, clamp down on corruption, and reform the economy stirred hope among Haiti's poor. Aristide's platform, however, terrified the country's ruling class. In September 1991, the old elite orchestrated the military coup that forced Aristide to flee the country.

The international community united against Lt. General Raul Cedras and the other army officials who deposed Aristide. The Organization of American States, to which thirty-five countries in the Western Hemisphere belong, imposed a regional economic embargo on Haiti. As conditions in Haiti worsened, thousands of Haitians set out across the Caribbean, hoping to reach U.S. territory. Although some were granted refugee status, the majority were returned to Haiti or were turned back at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard. Human rights groups estimate that in 1991-93 the Haitian government killed as many as 3,000 of its citizens and forced 40,000 to flee the country.

In June 1993, the UN tightened the screws further on Haiti's rulers by freezing their foreign bank accounts and imposing an oil embargo on the island. The measures prompted Cedras to sign an agreement to restore democracy and allow Aristide to return as president at the end of October 1993. The agreement, however, unraveled before Aristide set foot on the island.

Bettmann

Haitians rally in support of Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Over the next year, Haiti's military leaders defied international pressure and rejected attempts by UN diplomats to reach a negotiated settlement. Instead, they stepped up their campaign of assassination and intimidation against critics of the government. Meanwhile, the United States led international efforts to force Cedras and his allies from power. The trade embargo against Haiti was expanded to cover virtually all goods other than food and medicine. International observers were stationed on Haiti's border with the Dominican Republic to plug leaks in the embargo. Most important, the UN Security Council approved a resolution in July 1994 that backed the use of force to restore President Aristide to office.

By September 1994, the United States was prepared to launch an invasion force of 20,000 soldiers against Haiti's rulers. Twenty other nations, mostly from the Western Hemisphere, pledged to contribute 2,000 additional troops. In addition, worsening economic conditions in Haiti had created a new wave of refugees, 14,000 of whom were crowded into a tent camp at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

A last-minute agreement between the United States and Cedras allowed

U.S. troops to enter Haiti without opposition. Placing U.S. forces on the island, however, was only the first step in re-establishing a democratic government. The U.S. military soon confronted the task of restoring order to Haitian society. As they established their authority throughout the island, American troops occasionally met resistance from supporters of the Cedras regime, including members of the Haitian police. Thousands of weapons were collected, and programs were set up to train a new police force and army. Meanwhile, U.S. officials praised Aristide for reaching out to include representatives of Haiti's business community in his government. Plans were drawn up to hold legislative elections in 1995.

By the end of 1994, U.S. leaders were cautiously optimistic about the Haitian operation. The number of American troops on the island had been reduced to less than 10,000 and incidents of violence had declined. Few officials, however, were ready to declare the mission a success. U.S. forces were scheduled to remain in Haiti through the early months of 1995, or until the United Nations was satisfied that order had been firmly established on the island. Only then would 6,000 UN troops — roughly half of them American — take up positions in Haiti. The UN operation was scheduled to continue until a new Haitian president takes office in February 1996.

Rwanda

The violence that occurred in the central African country of Rwanda in the spring of 1994 surpassed even the carnage of other conflict areas. In the span of a few weeks, as many as 500,000 members of the Tutsi minority were slaughtered by their fellow Rwandans. Evidence quickly mounted that the massacre had been organized by Hutu extremists within the government.

International human rights groups accused the Rwandan government of genocide — the deliberate extermination of a people. However, when UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali tried to raise

an international force to stop the killing in Rwanda, his request was turned down by the United States and other leading powers. Nonetheless, the international community could not avoid the Rwandan crisis for long. By the summer of 1994, an international relief effort was organized to cope with the refugee crisis in central Africa and to prevent the spread of violence.

Rwanda's recent history has been stained by bloodshed between the country's two main ethnic groups, the Hutus and the Tutsis. The Hutus and the Tutsis share the same culture, language, and religion. Physically, they are virtually indistinguishable from one another. The main differences between them are economic. Although a minority, the Tutsis have long dominated the land. For centuries, they were primarily cattle herders while the Hutus were farmers. Under Belgian colonial rule, the economic differences were deepened. The Belgians openly favored the Tutsis, reserving educational privileges and government employment solely for them.

In the late 1950s, the Belgians hastily organized elections in Rwanda as their colonial empire began to crumble. Hutu parties gained control of the government in 1959, triggering armed opposition by the Tutsis. In three years of civil war, 50,000 Rwandans were killed and another 100,000 (almost all Tutsis) fled the country. Even after the fighting had ended, Hutu and Tutsi leaders continued to compete for political power. Meanwhile, the vast majority of Rwandans — Hutu and Tutsi alike — struggled for survival in one of the world's poorest countries. By 1994, 8 million Rwandans were living in an area the size of Maryland. The population was growing at 3.1 percent a year, among the fastest rates in the world.

Rwanda's poverty and the scarcity of land played into the hands of politicians seeking to ignite ethnic tensions to maintain their power. In 1990, the invasion of the Rwandan Patriotic Front began a small-scale civil war and added to the country's difficulties. Most of the soldiers in the rebel army were Tutsi refugees who had been living since the early 1960s in neighboring Uganda.

Although a peace agreement between the rebels and the government was signed in August 1993 and a small UN force was deployed to oversee the accord, Hutu extremists feared that their grip on power was threatened. In April 1994, Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana was killed in a suspicious plane crash. Within hours of his death, Hutu extremists launched a well-organized series of massacres.

The Rwandan army and specially formed Hutu militias first targeted leading figures in the Tutsi community, as well as moderate Hutus. In

addition, eleven UN peacekeepers from Belgium were executed. The massacres soon spread into the general population. Squads of soldiers and militiamen separated Tutsis from their Hutu neighbors, killing men, women, and children with no distinction. Hutus who tried to prevent the massacres were also killed.

As the bloodbath continued, the Rwandan Patriotic Front mounted an offensive to oust the government. By July 1994, it had seized the capital and forced the army to flee in panic. Suddenly, the tables were turned. Hundreds of thousands of Hutus abandoned their homes, fearful that Tutsis in the Rwandan Patriotic Front would seek revenge.

In the UN, world leaders condemned the violence in Rwanda but balked at intervening in the country. U.S. officials even avoided using the term "genocide" to describe the massacres in Rwanda. In June 1994, France intervened on its own. The French, who had supported the Hutu-led government, sought to carve out a "safe zone" for the mostly Hutu refugees in southwestern Rwanda. Nonetheless, their motives drew suspicion from Rwanda's new leaders.

The French presence did not halt the refugee crisis. By August 1994, 1.2 million Rwandans, the great majority of them Hutus, had crossed into Zaire. Another 800,000 refugees were in neighboring Burundi, Tanzania, and Uganda, while another 1.2 million had moved into the "safe zone" policed by the French. To protect international relief operations, the United States sent 2,000 troops into the region.

By the fall of 1994, the situation in and around Rwanda was quiet but explosive. Both the American and French troops had been withdrawn from Rwanda. In their place stood a UN peacekeeping force of 5,600 soldiers drawn from sixteen countries, mostly from Africa. Most observers, however, agreed that the main threat to peace in the region lay outside Rwanda in the refugee camps of Zaire. There, Hutu leaders from Rwanda's former government have declared that they are prepared to fight their way back to power. They have urged their fellow refugees not to return to their homes.

The refugee camps have also become a point of controversy in the international community. In 1994, nearly $1 billion in international aid was spent on camp operations. International relief workers have charged that much of the money has been skimmed off by officials of Rwanda's former government. They have also complained that they are frequently threatened and harassed by the Hutu militia forces that control the camps. In November 1994, international relief organizations strongly backed a UN report calling

J. Isaac. Courtesy of the United Nations.

Rwandan children separated from their parents at a refugee camp in Zaire.

for 3,000 to 5,000 additional peacekeepers to provide security in the refugee camps. The request, however, failed to gain support from the United States and other UN Security Council members.

Rwanda's tragedy has raised tensions to dangerous levels in Burundi. The two countries share a history of Belgian colonial rule and nearly identical ethnic divisions. Unlike in Rwanda, however, the minority Tutsis held onto power in Burundi after the Belgians left. With control over the army, Tutsis brutally smashed numerous Hutu uprisings. In 1972, as many as 100,000 Hutus were killed. In 1993, the election of a Hutu president set off another round of violence in which more than 100,000 Burundians died, including the president. Although Hutu and Tutsi leaders in Burundi have entered negotiations to reach a political compromise, recent events and the horrors of Rwanda work against the cause of peace.

SECTION 3

Views on U.S. options

Now that you have read about some of the issues related to U.S. policy on conflict resolution and considered four case studies, it is time to take a closer look at what our country's position should be. In this section, you will explore four views on U.S. policy toward international intervention. As you will see, each of the views is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs, and is shaped by a well-defined perspective on the threats and opportunities facing the United States.

The views presented address three fundamental questions that frame the discussion on U.S. policy:

•When should the United States intervene in international conflicts? Should the United States take action only when U.S. interests are directly affected? Or should the United States become involved to stop genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other egregious violations of human rights?

•What should be our country's relationship with the international community in the area of conflict resolution? Should the United States contribute troops to a UN peacekeeping force and intervene abroad only in conjunction with the UN? Or should the United States set an independent course and refuse to place American troops under UN command?

•What should be the main goal of U.S. policy regarding international conflicts? Should U.S. involvement in international conflicts be limited to stopping the fighting and containing threats to U.S. interests? Or should the United States seek to address the root causes of conflict and to achieve a just settlement?

Each of the four views that follows responds differently to the above questions. You should think of the views as a tool designed to help you examine the contrasting strategies from which Americans must define our country's role in the world and craft future policy.

View 1 — Cooperate to strengthen the UN

The international community is poised as never before to work together to address global problems. The great powers now share a common interest in promoting peace and tackling the issues that affect the entire planet. At this historic juncture, the United States should focus its energies on strengthening the United Nations — the only institution capable of addressing

the challenges of the 21st century. We should join ranks with other countries under the UN umbrella to devise a comprehensive strategy to respond promptly to the world's many conflicts. The international community must let the world's aggressors know that they will be punished.

CONSIDERING TRADE-OFFS

- Will placing American soldiers under UN command result in our country's troops dying in conflicts that are of no interest to the United States?
- Will giving the UN the green light to expand its peacekeeping efforts require American taxpayers to pay billions of additional dollars to support efforts that may not address U.S. interests?
- Will turning over decision-making power to the UN undercut the ability of the United States to respond swiftly and decisively to international crises, especially when Russia, China, or other UN Security Council members are involved?

View 2 — Protect our interests

With the end of the Cold War, the United States must now pick its way through a complex tangle of shifting alliances and conflicting interests. In the matter of intervening abroad, that means that the United States must carefully choose how and where to get involved. The United States needs to maintain important trading partnerships, control the spread of nuclear weapons, and prevent a flood of refugees from overwhelming us and our allies. Our judgment must not be clouded by reports of misery and injustice. Ultimately, we must do what is required to protect U.S. interests.

CONSIDERING TRADE-OFFS

- Will meddling in the affairs of other countries on our own entangle the United States in long-term, no-win disputes?
- Will strictly pursuing our own interests in international intervention harm our relations with other countries in the UN and weaken the international system?
- Will intervening in a conflict to defend narrow U.S. interests provoke Russia, China, and other great powers to likewise intervene to protect their own national interests?

View 3 — Keep our distance

Since the late 1940s, the United States has stuck its nose into problems

around the world. The obsession with foreign affairs has come at the expense of dealing with our problems here at home. For the rest of the world, our pattern of intervention has not brought peace and prosperity. Today, we must strike a new balance between foreign policy and domestic issues. The United States should not take part in the international community's efforts to intervene in conflict areas. The extent of our involvement in conflict resolution should be limited to the Western Hemisphere. We must recognize that the peace and stability of the world is best served by respecting the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity.

CONSIDERING TRADE-OFFS

- Will cutting our ties to UN peacekeeping efforts undermine the ability of the international community to deal with other global problems, such as environmental pollution and health epidemics?
- Will ignoring conflicts outside of the Western Hemisphere come back to haunt us in the form of broken trade relations, refugee crises, and nuclear proliferation?
- Will our failure to play an active role in the international arena embolden the enemies of democratic values and human rights?

View 4 — Stand up for principle

Since our country was founded, the world has turned to the United States for inspiration and leadership. We have led the way in developing a society based on democracy and liberty. Today, the United States has a greater role than ever to play in the world. As the only remaining superpower, we are in a position to advance the American values of democracy and human rights throughout the globe. The United States should let the world know that we will take the lead in intervening abroad to nurture the values of democracy and human rights. We must exercise leadership, not get caught up in the endless debates of the UN.

CONSIDERING TRADE-OFFS

- Will taking the lead in resolving the world's conflicts force us to maintain a huge military and require American troops to fight alone in remote areas that do not affect our national interests?
- Will trying to uphold American values in the international arena bring us into conflict with powerful nations such as China, and destroy the fragile UN consensus on conflict resolution that has recently emerged?

• Will taking a threatening stance against non-democratic governments harm our ability to communicate with the countries most likely to be involved in conflicts?

Your turn

These views are by no means the only U.S. options. Rather, they are intended to lay out some of the most important values and assumptions underlying the debate on U.S. policy concerning conflicts abroad and to spur discussion on the direction our country should take regarding this pressing issue. When you meet next time, you will have an opportunity to discuss the U.S. role in international intervention with others. The following statements are designed to help you clarify your thoughts on what is most important to you concerning this issue. Take a few moments to respond. This is a tool for you to get started. It will not be collected.

Rate each of the statements according to your beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ The interests of the United States can be maintained only if we resolutely exercise our power and influence in international affairs.

___ The international community has an obligation to intervene in countries that do not respect accepted standards of human rights.

___ Using our military power independently of the international community creates more enemies than friends.

___ The United States should recognize that problems in the developing world, such as poverty and environmental degradation, must be addressed as problems that affect everyone on the planet.

___ Problems in the international arena are far less important for Americans than the challenges we face at home, such as poverty, crime, and budget deficits.

___ The world would be a better place if more countries were to adopt our country's democratic values.

___ International stability and order should be protected because they are vital to the interests of the United States.

___ The United States should be willing to give up some of its own sovereignty to promote international cooperation.

___ Meddling in the affairs of other countries is wasteful and dangerous.

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Chapter 4

U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy

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In the fall of 1994, the attention of the American public was riveted on the debate over a complicated trade agreement — the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). A year earlier, an equally complex trade accord, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), captured the national spotlight. Not since the Civil War, when the industrial North and the agricultural South squared off in Congress over import tariffs, had trade issues generated such intense interest.

Like other trade pacts, GATT and NAFTA were cumbersome, uninviting documents. GATT alone amounted to 22,000 pages. The agreements had remained largely in the shadows of public policy while U.S. trade specialists slogged through years of tedious negotiations. As they reached Congress, however, the intricacies of trade policy gave way to strong emotions. GATT and NAFTA became symbols of the changes facing Americans in the rapidly globalizing economy.

GATT and NAFTA are both designed to reduce barriers to international

Foundations of the International Trading System

For its first century and a half, the United States shielded fledgling manufacturing industries from foreign competition while assertively seeking out new markets overseas. U.S. import tariffs remained above 30 percent (as compared to under 5 percent today) throughout most of the 19th century. U.S. leaders felt at the time that the country's economy would require decades of protectionist measures to catch up with British industry and consequently saw few benefits in free trade.

World War II dramatically altered the American worldview. At the close of the war, George Kennan, the diplomat who first articulated the U.S. strategy for containing the Soviet Union, maintained that there were five centers of industrial and military power: the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, Germany and central Europe, and Japan. To stop Soviet expansion, Kennan held that the United States needed to ensure that the other three powers were pro-American and economically strong. President Harry Truman and his successors followed Kennan's recommendations.

Leaders of Truman's generation believed that free trade was crucial for a healthy U.S. economy and a stable Western world. They recalled that an increase of U.S. import tariffs in 1930 had cut American trade in half, exacerbating the Depression and further weakening the international economy. Truman's top priority was to restore the prosperity of American trading partners in Western Europe. The key element in promoting Western Europe's recovery was the Marshall Plan. From 1948 to 1952, the United States supplied $12.5 billion (equivalent to $72 billion in 1994 dollars) in aid to the region.

To lower trade barriers in the non-

trade. GATT's scope is worldwide, with a membership of more than 120 nations by the end of 1994, while NAFTA is limited to the United States, Mexico, and Canada. As Congress considered NAFTA in the fall of 1993 and again during the debate on GATT in the fall of 1994, critics argued that the trade agreements would primarily benefit big corporations that could take advantage of cheaper labor costs in Mexico and other countries of the developing world. They warned that approval of GATT and NAFTA would cost American jobs and put pressure on the United States to weaken its standards on environmental protection and worker safety. Meanwhile, supporters held out the promise of increased exports that would fuel healthy economic growth and higher wages. They asserted that American companies were among the most competitive in the world and were poised to take advantage of new trade opportunities.

The GATT and NAFTA debates brought home the impact of trade issues on the lives of Americans. Like few other topics, GATT and NAFTA seemed to touch people where they lived, confirming that economic insecurity had

communist world, the United States pressed for the establishment of GATT. GATT hastened the trend toward a global trading system by laying out a set of ground rules among the twenty-three original members. From GATT's founding session in Geneva, when import tariffs worldwide averaged about 40 percent, the United States carried the banner of free trade through six additional rounds of negotiations. As trade barriers fell, world trade increased from $53 billion in 1948 to nearly $1.5 trillion in the mid-1970s, to nearly $3.5 trillion today. American exports soared and access to the American market helped key U.S. allies recover from World War II. By 1986, when the eighth round of GATT talks convened in Uruguay, import tariffs worldwide had fallen to roughly 5 percent.

The United States also encouraged trading partnerships in Western Europe and East Asia. In 1957, the six-nation European Economic Community emerged. The trading bloc (known today as the European Union) eliminated many restrictions on the movement of people, goods, services, and capital among member nations. Today, the European Union (EU) represents an economy comparable to NAFTA in size.

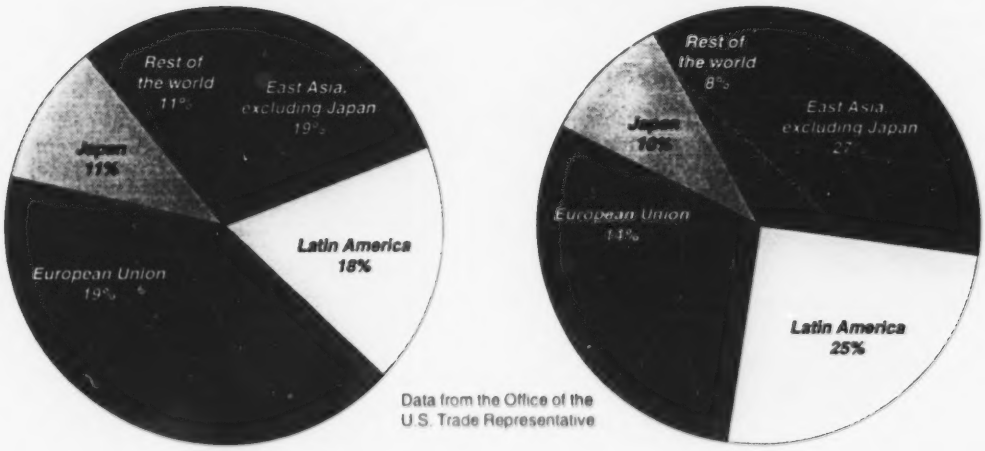
In East Asia, U.S. policies helped make Japan a regional hub of economic activity. As the Japanese economy took off, it developed close economic ties with important U.S. allies in the region. The success of East Asia's "four tigers" — South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore — was part of a larger U.S. effort to strengthen countries on the front line of the struggle against communism. High import tariffs, relative to U.S. levels, were used in both Western Europe and East Asia to protect key local industries.

replaced the Soviet threat in the post-Cold War era as the public's leading concern. Trade policy questions had moved from the business section to the front page.

And as advocates on both sides of the trade debate made clear, GATT and NAFTA are only the beginning of a trend that has placed trade issues at the center of our country's public policy agenda. In the coming years, U.S. participation in GATT and NAFTA will come up for review periodically. In addition, President Bill Clinton has begun exploring the possibility of broadening NAFTA to incorporate the entire Western Hemisphere and creating a huge new trading bloc involving countries of the Pacific Rim. At the same time, direct negotiations with many of our leading trading partners, such as Japan, China, and Western Europe, are likely to produce occasional fireworks.

All of this is taking place at a time when the international economy is undergoing a profound transformation. Over the next twenty-five years, the global balance of economic strength is expected to shift from the developed world to the developing world. Developed countries, which in 1994 accounted for 56 percent of world economic production, will see their share of global output drop to below 40 percent by 2020. In turn, developing nations, particularly those in East Asia, will continue to surge forward. China's

Changing U.S. Export Patterns



Data from the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative

1994 2010

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gross domestic product (GDP) is likely to surpass that of the United States in the next two decades.

How the United States responds to this economic realignment, as well as to other crucial trade issues, will have a great impact on the lives of Americans in the 21st century. Should tariffs be raised to protect the American economy from foreign competition, or should they be kept low to provide a wide selection of consumer goods and to promote innovation among American industries? Should the government provide select industries an edge in the global marketplace, or should market forces determine success and failure? And what of the connection between international trade and foreign policy issues? Should we be using trade policy as a tool in promoting human rights and democracy? Should trade benefits be awarded to countries that embrace American political values? This chapter will help prepare you to consider these questions.

SECTION 1

Global economic pressures

As we approach the 21st century, the U.S. economy remains the world's largest — nearly twice the size of our nearest competitor, Japan. The U.S. dollar serves as the accepted currency of international trade. In 1994, the United States led the world in exports. The United States also maintains a lead in many of the future's most promising industries, including biotechnology, telecommunications, and environmentally friendly products.

However, the United States no longer dominates the world economy as it did in 1950. At that time, U.S. manufacturing output accounted for roughly half of the world total (compared to less than a quarter today). Americans have watched their automobile, steel, and consumer electronics industries lose ground to foreign competition. Whereas in 1950 countries throughout the world turned to the United States as a source of capital, today the United States is the world's biggest borrower. Spiraling budget deficits have forced the United States to increasingly rely on foreign lenders to finance government spending. In addition, the United States now suffers trade deficits year after year instead of the trade surpluses routinely recorded in the 1950s and 1960s. Some economists blame the shift on high rates of U.S. defense spending, especially during the Cold War. They note that while the United States was concentrating on developing military-related technologies, our

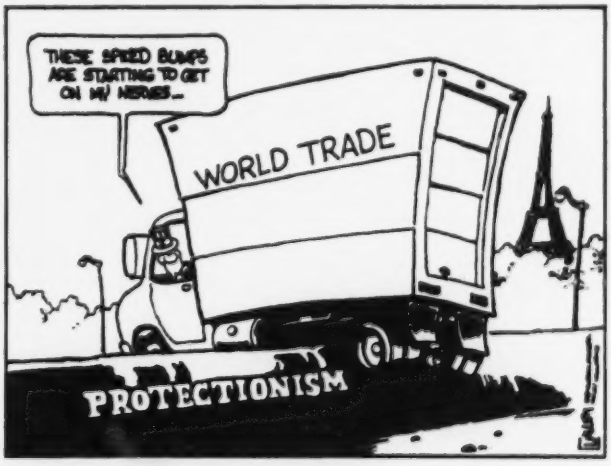
country's allies and chief economic competitors in Western Europe and East Asia held down their defense budgets and focused their research efforts almost entirely on consumer products.

The relative change of the U.S. position in the international economy does not mean that the United States has become poorer. On the contrary, U.S. per capita income has continued to increase even as countries in Western Europe and Japan have caught up economically with the United States. What has changed is the nature of the global economy. Goods and services now cross borders at an ever more rapid pace, and the market for labor and capital has acquired an increasingly global character. U.S. corporations have sought a competitive edge by taking advantage of cheap labor in Latin America and East Asia. Meanwhile, Japanese and Western European companies have invested in the United States, hoping to benefit from American research expertise and to tap the huge American market.

The globalization of the economy has also recast the employment picture in the United States. A growing share of U.S. exports are generated by a vibrant service sector that employs Americans in industries ranging from business insurance to computer software to international hotel management. As a result, a greater portion of American jobs has become tied to trade.

Winners and losers

Ultimately, the question of the U.S. economy's health hinges on perspective. Many economists view the 1980s as a pivotal decade, when American firms improved their efficiency and U.S. exports began expanding. In many high-tech fields, ranging from microelectronics to telecommunications equipment, the United States has widened its lead in global exports during the last decade. American workers have recorded strong gains in productivity too, especially as the economy emerged from the 1990-91 recession. Overall, the opening of new markets has proved to be a boon for American industry. Most business executives, especially those in export-oriented areas, are



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optimistic regarding the United States' ability to compete globally.

The growth in trade has also given American consumers a wider range of products to buy. The increased competition has forced producers to improve quality and hold down prices. Low-income Americans, who spend a larger share of their money on consumer goods, have been among the prime beneficiaries of lower prices.

But while U.S. trade opportunities expanded and new consumer goods entered the market, most American manufacturing workers have not welcomed competition on a worldwide scale. They fear that the forces of open trade threaten their way of life. Statistics suggest that they have cause for concern. From 1972 to 1992, industrial output doubled, and yet wages remained stagnant. Roughly 2.3 million manufacturing jobs were lost in the United States, and Americans without a college education suffered a decline in their standard of living during this period.

In 1993, a year of robust economic growth, the income of an average American household actually fell, while the number of Americans living in poverty rose by 1 million. The gap between rich and poor in our country has steadily widened over the past several years. By 1993, the top fifth of households earned 48.2 percent of the nation's income, while the bottom fifth earned just 3.6 percent.

A Role for Government?

While wrestling over international trade issues, Clinton administration officials have also been attracted to the government-industry partnerships prevalent among many of America's trading partners. The president, for example, has called for cooperation between Washington and business to develop a new generation of fuel-efficient cars and to spur advances in information technologies. In suggesting that the United States pursue an industrial policy to gain a competitive edge, Clinton's advisers are reviving a notion that had been articulated by Alexander Hamilton two centuries earlier.

In the 19th century, Hamilton's recommendations were put into practice. Government contracts, especially for the armed forces, were aimed at stimulating strategic sectors of manufacturing, while nascent industries were protected by an import tariff that hovered around 30 percent.

World War II and the Cold War prompted government-industry partnerships in the name of national security. In the 1970s, the U.S. government promoted the development of synthetic fuels to lessen the country's dependence on imported oil. The energy industry, however, lost its enthusiasm for the project after oil prices began falling in the 1980s. Other examples of government-industry cooperation were more successful. In 1987, the government teamed up with a consortium of American computer chip makers to explore high-risk areas of research, and to open communication channels between computer chip manufacturers and suppliers of manufacturing equipment. The results of this effort, known as Sematech, were credited in part with reversing the decline of the American computer chip industry. Hailing Sematech as a model for government-industry cooperation, Clinton administration officials have claimed that the approach can be applied to their plans to develop more fuel-efficient cars. Other industry consortia, including groups of aerospace and textile manufacturers, have lobbied for similar government assistance.

Meanwhile in Japan, officials have had second thoughts about the viability of government efforts to strengthen Japan's economic position in world markets. The system of government planning that helped make Japan's automobile and electronics industries world leaders has been less successful in high-technology fields. In the early 1980s, for example, Japanese government and industry joined forces in the "fifth-generation" computer project. The project, however, was not malleable enough to keep pace with the rapid advances generated by small computer companies.

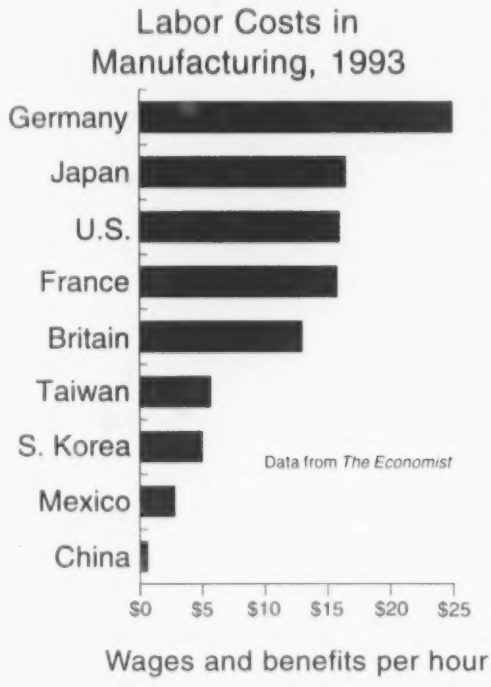
Among Americans, the Japanese experience often produces contradictory interpretations. For those who admire Japan's industrial policy, Japanese government-industry cooperation offers lessons that Americans should consider. They argue that, as in Japan, the U.S. concept of national security should include the commitment to ensure the viability of critical industries, such as aviation and computers. Critics, however, insist that the involvement of government is often a negative force. They maintain that Washington inevitably favors large corporations with political influence, which stifles initiative and innovation.

SECTION 2

Redefining trade relations

Since the end of World War II, American presidents have taken the lead in defining the rules that govern international trade. President Clinton has also assumed this role, but by the time he took office the global playing field had undergone dramatic changes. With the Cold War over, the national security priorities that guided U.S. trade policy and the alliance system that bound the United States to its trading partners in Western Europe and Japan have lost much of their significance. The future of U.S. trade interests are shifting too. In the next twenty-five years, for example, developing countries are likely to account for about two-thirds of the increase in world imports. America's exports to the countries of the developing world and the former Soviet bloc, which already represent 42 percent of total U.S. exports, are expected to rise sharply.

In step with global economic trends, the Clinton administration has focused on strengthening trade ties with the world's two fastest growing economic regions — East Asia and Latin America. The closing months of 1994 saw two important initiatives. In November, Clinton and seventeen other leaders of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) group agreed to work toward creating a free trade zone among themselves by 2020. The APEC countries, which include China, South Korea, and other booming East Asian economies, currently produce more than half the world's output, and their share is forecast to increase. Bringing down trade barriers within APEC would create the world's largest trading bloc, dwarfing the fifteen-nation European Union (EU). The road to an APEC trade pact, however, promises to be bumpy. The United States and Australia



have been the strongest advocates of free trade within the group. In contrast, many of APEC's East Asian members have achieved robust economic growth while maintaining high tariffs and other protectionist measures.

Clinton followed up his APEC meeting by hosting a gathering of thirty-four heads of state from the Western Hemisphere at the Summit of the Americas in December 1994. Again the subject was reducing trade barriers. Summit leaders approved a declaration calling for the formation of a free-trade area among the nations of the Western Hemisphere by 2005. Questions remained, however, as to the structure of an agreement. The expansion of NAFTA southward was most often suggested as the quickest path toward uniting the countries of the Americas into a trade bloc. Even before the Summit of the Americas, U.S. leaders had raised the possibility that NAFTA might be extended to include Chile. There were also proposals to combine features of NAFTA with those of other regional trade pacts, such as the Mercosur union of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay.

GATT and NAFTA

Even as Americans look ahead to the prospects of new free trade zones in the Pacific Rim and the Western Hemisphere, they will also continue to evaluate the effects of GATT and NAFTA. For the next few years at least, these two accords will have the greatest influence on U.S. trade patterns.

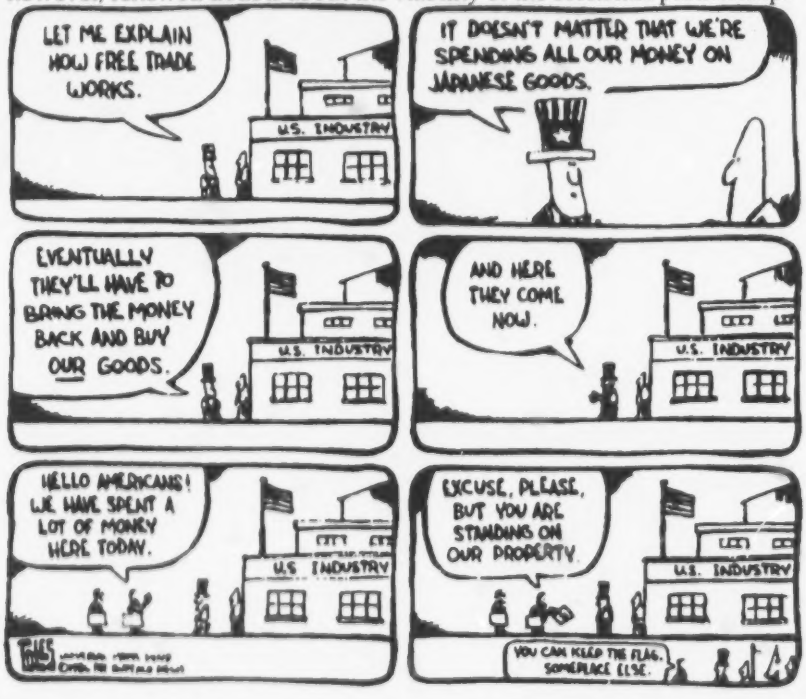
The latest round of GATT talks was concluded in December 1993 after seven years of negotiations. Free trade advocates were generally pleased that services had been on the GATT agenda for the first time and that the accord produced a major breakthrough in agriculture. The agreement also required participating countries to lower tariffs and respect copyright laws on computer software, music, and other intellectual property. However, several of the thorniest issues — including entertainment and financial services — were not included in the agreement.

Trade specialists are already looking ahead to a further expansion of GATT. The next round of talks will probably reconsider services. A more sensitive issue is removing non-tariff barriers to trade — an area of special interest to the United States. Over the years, non-tariff barriers have risen worldwide even as GATT has lowered import tariffs. Some non-tariff barriers are fair. Virtually every country, for example, regulates trade to protect the health and safety of its citizens. In some cases, however, these rules have been crafted to discriminate against imports. American companies often complain that the close relationship between Japanese manufacturers and

Japanese retailers effectively keeps American exports out of stores in Japan. Many governments also reinforce non-tariff barriers by favoring local companies in their purchasing decisions.

The approval of NAFTA marked a departure from the strategy that has driven U.S. involvement in GATT. Unlike the global scope of GATT, NAFTA is limited to North America. The goals of NAFTA, however, are much more ambitious than those of GATT. GATT sets rules to promote more open trade, while NAFTA aims to eliminate trade barriers entirely. The agreement represents an acknowledgment by American leaders that the United States, like the countries of the EU, is better off in a regional trading bloc. Canada has long been our country's leading trade partner, while Mexico ranks third behind Canada and Japan.

Trade analysts see NAFTA as a source of leverage for the United States in dealing with the countries of the EU and East Asia. More important, NAFTA marks a bold attempt to bridge the wide economic gulf between the developed nations of the United States and Canada and the developing economy of Mexico. A financial crisis in Mexico that began in December 1994, however, renewed doubts about the viability of the economic partnership.


LET ME EXPLAIN HOW FREE TRADE WORKS.
U.S. INDUSTRY
IT DOESN'T MATTER THAT WE'RE SPENDING ALL OUR MONEY ON JAPANESE GOODS.
EVENTUALLY THEY'LL HAVE TO BRING THE MONEY BACK AND BUY OUR GOODS.
U.S. INDUSTRY
AND HERE THEY COME NOW.
U.S. INDUSTRY
HELLO AMERICANS! WE HAVE SPENT A LOT OF MONEY HERE TODAY.
U.S. INDUSTRY
EXCUSE, PLEASE, BUT YOU ARE STANDING ON OUR PROPERTY
U.S. INDUSTRY
YOU CAN KEEP THE FLAG, SOMEPLACE ELSE.

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The U.S. agenda

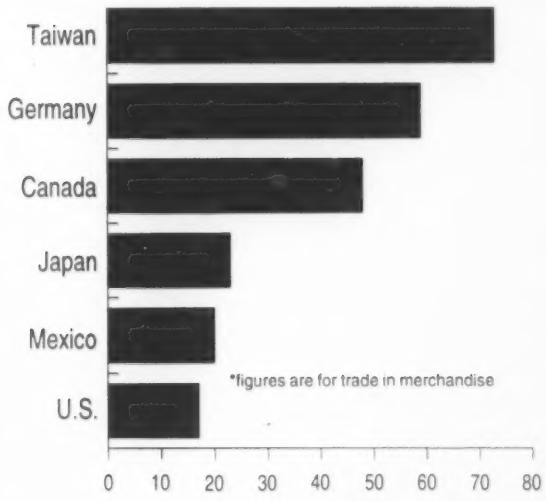
The issues surrounding GATT and NAFTA include many of those that will shape overall U.S. trade policy, especially toward the developing world. Critics of free trade have based their position on several arguments. From an economic perspective, they contend that heightened global competition will harm millions of Americans. They are particularly concerned with the fate of relatively unskilled factory workers who are least able to cope with economic change.

Opponents of free trade also assert that new trade agreements will sacrifice U.S. sovereignty to faceless international bureaucrats. They are especially suspicious of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the body scheduled to replace GATT at the highest level of the international trading system. The WTO will put teeth in the rules that govern global trade. Under GATT, each participating country has had the power to veto GATT decisions. The WTO will eliminate veto power. Instead, member states will be obliged to comply with WTO rulings in international trade disputes.

The WTO has become a favorite target of free trade critics. Environmentalists, labor union leaders, and consumer advocates argue that foreign countries will use the WTO to attack U.S. regulations as unfair trade barriers. Laws intended to protect the environment, workers' rights, and the health and safety of consumers could be especially vulnerable. In 1991, for example, Mexico won a GATT case against a U.S. law that bans imports of tuna that are caught in nets that frequently snag dolphins. Although the United States was able to ignore the ruling under GATT, the WTO would require U.S. compliance.

Before approving GATT in December 1994, the U.S. Senate pressured Clinton to form a panel of judges that would review WTO decisions. If the panel finds that the United States has been subjected to three unfair rulings over a five-year period, Congress could vote for U.S. withdrawal from the trade agreement.

Trade* as a Percentage of GDP, 1992



The foreign policy connection

Even without the Cold War as a backdrop, trade relations have remained closely connected with the broader goals of U.S. foreign policy. With respect to the developing world, trade policy has often been viewed as a tool for changing behavior in the international arena and promoting democracy, human rights, and environmental protection. Much of the debate has centered on China, the fourth-largest U.S. trading partner in 1993. In recent years, China's most-favored-nation trading status (which allows countries to import goods to the United States at the lowest tariff rates) has regularly come up for debate in Congress. Critics of China's policies have favored withdrawing Beijing's most-favored-nation status to pressure China to change its ways regarding the rights of the Tibetan people, the use of prison labor, and other human rights issues.

Meanwhile, trade disputes between the United States and its partners in the developed world have continued to gain attention. American trade relations with Japan are a long-standing sore point. Our country's trade deficit with Japan is expected to be nearly $60 billion in 1994, far larger than the U.S. deficit with any other country. Under President Clinton, the United States has taken a more assertive tone toward Japan. Clinton has pressed the Japanese to boost consumer demand for American goods. The Japanese, however, have sidestepped American efforts to set specific targets for reducing Japan's trade surplus with the U.S.

SECTION 3

How trade affects us

Advocates on all sides of the U.S. trade policy debate often seek to personalize the abstractions of international commerce. The personal profiles that follow go beyond the details of specific trade agreements to consider how trade policy relates to the lives of four individual Americans. Although the characters are not real, their hopes and concerns typify attitudes found throughout the country.

Profile # 1

Judy lives in a New England city with a long industrial history. Like many people in her neighborhood, she works in a jewelry factory assembling earrings and necklaces. She is a high school graduate, but with three children

to raise Judy has not found the time for further education. Along with many of her co-workers, Judy is worried about the future of her job.

Judy, now in her mid-forties, has worked in the same non-union factory for twelve years. During that time, her salary has barely kept up with inflation. In 1994, she was making $6.75 an hour. Judy's employer offers a health plan, but since the late 1980s benefits have been steadily reduced while the contribution required from employees has increased. Although Judy would like to find a better job, she considers herself lucky to be working at all, as there have been a number of layoffs in her factory. Two years ago, a nearby jewelry factory closed down when manufacturing operations moved to Malaysia.

Judy has come to recognize that her factory is competing against low-wage countries in Latin America and Asia. For her, free trade represents a threat. She realizes that some American businesses will benefit from more open markets, but feels that American workers have little to gain.

The trends of the past decade justify Judy's concerns. From 1982 to 1990, a time of steady economic growth and expanding trade, wages for working people in the United States fell 1.5 percent, while the salaries of managers jumped 8.7 percent. The 70 million American workers who, like Judy, are classified as unskilled have found themselves competing with workers in developing countries for jobs. Global economic pressures have also encouraged many companies to cut their work force. From 1984 to 1992, for example, American Telephone and Telegraph eliminated 21,000 manufacturing jobs in the United States while hiring 8,000 engineers, designers, and others with high levels of education.

If free trade expands, workers like Judy would face greater competition from their counterparts in developing countries. Wages in Mexico, for example, average one-sixth of U.S. levels. Although the average Mexican worker has only a sixth-grade education, productivity in some factories is equal to American standards. With the approval of NAFTA, even more companies are expected to take advantage of Mexico's cheap labor costs and easy access to the American market.

The effect of the 1989 U.S.-Canadian free trade pact also seems to justify Judy's concern. Labor unions have been stronger in Canada than in the United States and employers have paid more in taxes for unemployment insurance. As a result, the free trade agreement put some Canadian companies at a competitive disadvantage. From 1989 to 1992, the output of Canada's factories fell 11.4 percent, compared to a 1.6 percent gain in the United States,

Steve Sack. Reprinted with permission. Tribune Media Services

and employment in Canadian manufacturing fell by 15 percent.

Judy wants the protection of American jobs to be the top priority of U.S. trade policy. She also hopes that the government will help workers adjust to the impact of changing trade patterns. She believes training workers in new job skills would be helpful. The government, she feels, should encourage companies to invest more in the education of their workers. Firms in Germany, Japan, and other developed nations are well ahead of the United States in worker training. Furthermore, many students in these countries finish their high school education by taking part in advanced apprenticeship programs. Judy would like to see such opportunities for her children.

Profile #2

Vicky lives in Atlanta, the city that has been her home since she found a job there as a sales representative for a telecommunications firm. Vicky, who will soon be 30 years old, has had a strong interest in international business since high school. In her senior year, she served as an intern at a company that sold aviation equipment to East Asia. In college, Vicky spent a year in Taiwan. This experience abroad led Vicky to change her major to international marketing.

Since college, Vicky has worked for three different telecommunications

companies. At her current job, Vicky is part of a division that markets cellular telephones to businesses. Her division has increasingly found customers in the Caribbean and Latin America, where poor telephone service makes cellular communications an appealing option. The Mexican market, however, was more difficult to enter because a state-run company, *Teléfonos de México*, controlled the communications business. Since the government sold the company to private investors in 1990, the market has slowly begun to open.

Under NAFTA, the barriers that have shielded Mexico's telecommunications industry are being lowered further, and Vicky's company is prepared to take advantage of the new opportunities. In Mexico City, for example, thousands of businesses already rely on cellular telephones as an alternative to *Teléfonos de México*. By emphasizing prompt installation and repair services, as well as low-cost leasing arrangements, Vicky's company hopes to capture a sizable share of the Mexican market.

In the next few years, company executives also hope to gain a foothold in China. Vicky would be a key part of her company's operations. Not only does she speak Chinese, but Vicky also has international business experience through her previous jobs. China's leaders, however, have tightly limited the sphere of foreign investment and have not brought their country into GATT. China has been particularly slow in opening its economy to foreign companies that specialize in business services, such as Vicky's firm.

Assuming trade barriers fall in China and other countries, American companies that provide business services such as banking, insurance, advertising, and telecommunications are ready to take advantage of new opportunities. The ethnic and cultural diversity of the United States, along with the worldwide acceptance of American business standards, should give Americans a competitive edge.

Economists note that the United States has shifted away from manufacturing bulky goods and moved toward a high-technology, information-oriented economy. When services are taken into account, the U.S. trade picture changes considerably.

In 1993, for example, the United States imported $116 billion more in merchandise than it exported. At the same time, the United States enjoyed a $57 billion trade surplus in services. American exports of commercial services consistently have led the world, typically doubling the total of the United States' nearest competitor. More open trade is expected to give an added boost to the service sector.

Profile #3

Al lives in a small Midwestern city that has been dominated by the automobile industry for most of this century. When Al was growing up, Al's relatives and neighbors worked either in the General Motors (GM) factory or in one of the smaller plants that supplied parts to the auto industry. Al always figured that he too would end up working in the auto industry. In college, he earned an engineering degree, and then went to work for the local GM plant. After fifteen years with GM, Al and two of his fellow engineers opened a factory that produces gaskets for the engines of GM cars. Now in his late fifties, Al employs more than 100 people and supplies gaskets to GM, Ford, and Toyota factories in the United States and Mexico.

When Al opened his plant, American companies were still the unquestioned leaders of the auto industry. Most of his business, as well as his competition, could be found within a few hundred miles of his home. In the last two decades, companies in Japan and South Korea have entered the U.S. market with greater force, creating a more competitive and global business environment. In 1994, for example, Japanese companies based in the United States turned out 2.2 million American-made vehicles. To meet the changing demands of the market, Al has hired more engineers to design new gaskets. He also has streamlined his manufacturing operation to the point where he produces gaskets only for specific orders. This has allowed him to trim his manufacturing costs, and to avoid maintenance expenses for overstocked warehouses.

Al knows his competition in East Asia also continues to raise productivity levels. From 1973 to 1989, the productivity of Japanese workers increased by 5.5 percent annually, compared to a 2.6 percent yearly rise in the United States. Wage costs also concern Al. Full-time workers in Al's

factory earn $12.50 an hour and receive health insurance. Mexican workers performing the same jobs earn about $2 an hour. That gap in wages has Al worried about NAFTA. A number of companies that compete with him already have plants in Mexico. With the approval of NAFTA, others will surely follow.

There is also a positive side to NAFTA for Al. Mexico is one of the fastest-growing automobile markets in the world and has contributed to the recent rebound of the U.S. automobile industry. Al has seen his exports to Mexico triple since 1986, the year when Mexico began a sweeping economic liberalization program. He is part of a trade boom that saw U.S. exports of auto parts to Mexico increase by about 65 percent from 1991 to 1994. Under NAFTA, Mexico's tariffs on cars and light trucks have been cut in half, and tariffs on most auto parts coming into Mexico will be eliminated within five years. The financial crisis that weakened the value of the Mexican peso is expected to curb Mexican imports, but the long-term outlook is good. The Mexican market for new vehicles is forecast to grow by at least 65 percent between 1994 and 2000.

American manufacturers such as Al have reason to be optimistic about broader trends in global trade. From 1989 to 1992, U.S. exports rose 23 percent. About half of U.S. economic growth from 1987 to 1992 was tied to exports. Some of the increase can be attributed to the fact that the value of the U.S. dollar fell in relation to currencies in Western Europe and Japan. Economists, however, also note that global competition has forced American companies to improve quality and hold down costs. Even in well-established U.S. export industries — such as agriculture, electrical machinery, aviation, and computer equipment — continued innovation has boosted American competitiveness.

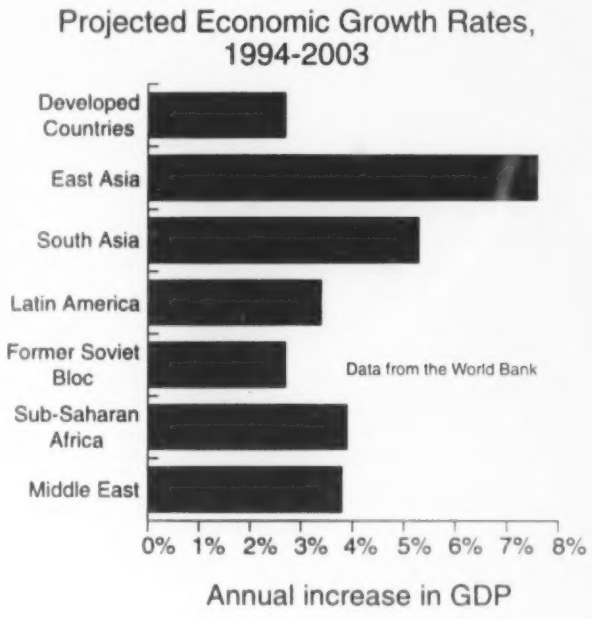
Profile #4

Gerald is a senior design engineer with an aviation manufacturer in Southern California. For twenty-five years, Gerald has been designing fighter planes for the U.S. Air Force and other militaries around the world through U.S.-sponsored contracts. With his 65th birthday less than two years away, Gerald is ambivalent about the prospect of retirement.

Gerald and his wife Teresa have lived comfortably in a Los Angeles suburb for over two decades. Their two children both graduated from California universities and have moved out on their own. Every summer the couple visits Mexico, Teresa's native country. During the 1980s, it was difficult to find a more secure job than Gerald's. Production in the aviation industry

reached an all-time high. Gerald's company was making fighter planes for several international clients. But in recent years, cutbacks in military spending have rocked the aviation industry. Gerald has seen co-workers suffer pay cuts and, in some cases, get laid off. In addition, doubts have been raised about the security of Gerald's pension plan.

American aviation companies, especially those that depended heavily on military contracts, are eager to find new export markets. Much of their attention has focused on China, where air travel and the demand for aircraft are booming. In addition, American aviation firms hope to revitalize the military sector by strengthening their ties overseas. One project involves a cooperative effort between American and Japanese companies to build a fighter plane, the FSX, for Japan. While the American aviation industry has encouraged the Japanese to expand production, critics have warned that the United States is relinquishing valuable technology to the Japanese that could harm our country's global competitiveness. Citing the television and VCR industries, they fear that the Japanese will apply what they have learned from the FSX project to challenge American dominance in military and commercial aircraft sales.



As a resident of Southern California, Gerald is in a unique position to assess the impact of increased foreign trade. He is familiar with the optimistic outlook of many local business leaders. They foresee strong economic growth for the area as the U.S. economy tilts toward the Pacific. The passage of NAFTA is also expected to generate greater economic activity along the U.S.-Mexican border, accelerating a trend that began in the mid-1980s. From 1988 to 1991, for example, trade between Mexico and California increased 60 percent to more than $10 billion a year.

Along with growth, however, have come problems. Local companies

have moved abroad to avoid U.S. standards on environmental protection and worker safety. Not far from Teresa's hometown in northern Mexico there is an industrial park that houses several factories. Teresa's relatives complain that chemical fumes from the plants pollute the air and that untreated waste water flows into the Pacific Ocean.

Indeed, the industrial belt in northern Mexico near the U.S. border is home to some of the worst pollution in North America. Some corporations have taken advantage of Mexico's comparatively weak environmental laws to avoid the costs involved in addressing industrial pollution. They also know that the agencies assigned to enforce Mexico's environmental laws are seriously understaffed and financially strained. As a result, health experts in Mexico report that factory workers often suffer from ailments related to pollution. American environmentalists maintain that both the pollution and health problems will increasingly extend across the border with the expansion of U.S.-Mexican trade.

The impact of the globalization of the economy is expected to reach into other aspects of American society. For all of our country's problems, the United States offers its citizens much better education and health care than most countries in East Asia and Latin America provide. Economists, however, predict that over time free trade will smooth out some of the differences in the societies of the Pacific Rim. While free trade supporters expect GATT, NAFTA, and other trade agreements to gradually raise the standards of poorer countries to those of the United States, Japan, and Canada, critics fear that affluent societies will become more like the developing world.

SECTION 4

Views on U.S. options

Now that you have read about some of the issues related to U.S. trade policy, it is time to take a closer look at what our country's position should be. In this section, you will explore three views on U.S. trade policy. As you will see, each of the views is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs, and is shaped by a well-defined perspective on the threats and opportunities facing the United States.

The views presented address three fundamental questions that frame the discussion on U.S. trade policy:

- **What should be the most important principle guiding U.S. trade**

policy? Should the United States uphold the virtues of free trade, as we did with respect to U.S. allies during the Cold War, in an effort to promote the health of the international system? Or should U.S. policy concentrate on protecting American industries from global competition, as was generally the case before World War II?

• **What should be the role of the government in the U.S. economy?** Should the government actively favor companies in emerging export-oriented industries? Or should the government maintain a hands-off approach as defenders of free-market competition have advocated?

• **What image of the United States should U.S. trade policy project to the rest of the world?** Should the United States assume the stance of a confident world leader and continue to press for lower trade barriers through GATT? Or should our country take a more defensive stance toward global competition and seek to guard American interests through protectionist measures or regional trade pacts such as NAFTA?

Each of the three views that follows responds differently to the above questions. You should think of these views as a tool designed to help you examine the contrasting strategies from which Americans must define our country's role in the world and craft future policy.

View 1 — Promote free trade

U.S. trade policy should be based on the premise that the United States, as well as the world as a whole, benefits from free trade. Open trade has provided American consumers with better products at lower prices. During the Cold War, the growth of trade cemented alliances among the countries of Western Europe, East Asia, and the United States. In today's interconnected global economy, free trade is serving to build new bridges between peoples, and, more than ever, the United States is in a position to reap the benefits. Our technological expertise has given us the lead in many promising industries of the future, including biotechnology, telecommunications, and computer software. To back away now from our commitment to free trade would be a setback not only for the United States, but for the entire world.

Considering trade-offs

• Will the laws of the marketplace result in the transfer of millions more American manufacturing jobs overseas and further depress the living standards of American workers?

• Will our country be forced to weaken environmental standards and cut

education and social services to meet economic competition from poor, developing countries?

- Will blindly pursuing the principles of free trade leave American high-tech industries at a disadvantage in competing against government-supported companies in East Asia and Western Europe?

View 2 — Protect American workers

U.S. trade policy should put the interests of American workers first and fight unfair foreign competition. We can no longer afford to open our doors to imported goods while other countries shield their industries behind high tariffs and impenetrable regulations. The United States has lost its lead in electronics, textiles, steel, and other vital industries. Our country has recorded big trade deficits for well over a decade. The time has come to fight back. U.S. trade policy must put the interests of American workers above the naive goal of free trade. We must focus on stemming the flow of manufacturing jobs overseas and protecting our industries from unfair foreign competition.

Considering trade-offs

- Will protectionist measures in the United States plunge the global economy into a depression by setting off a trade war and reducing the volume of exports worldwide?
- Will erecting barriers against foreign competition send the U.S. economy sliding toward inefficiency and backwardness, as was the case in the Soviet Union?
- Will taking a tough stance toward our trading partners undermine our most important alliances and contribute to international tensions?

View 3 — Chart our economic course

U.S. trade policy should be part of an overall government strategy designed to give our country an edge in high-tech industries. In the world of economics, victory goes to those who adapt to change. As a country, we have to redefine our conception of national security and recognize that our economic future lies at the core of U.S. interests. Changes in the global economy demand a new relationship among government, industry, and universities. Just as governments in East Asia and Western Europe work as partners with business, so too should U.S. leaders from the public and private sectors work together to achieve national economic goals. To develop the technologies of

tomorrow, the government must take an active role in identifying areas of promise, investing in research, and promoting exports.

Considering trade-offs

- Will expanding the government's role in the economy increase the likelihood of multi-billion dollar boondoggles, exacerbate bureaucratic red tape, and open the door to corruption?
- Will giving government officials the power to pick economic winners and losers favor big corporations with influence in Washington and leave small, innovative companies at a disadvantage?
- Will focusing on high-tech industries, rather than the needs of workers, add to the budget deficit while doing little to improve the lives of the majority of Americans?

Your turn

These views are by no means the only U.S. options. Rather, they are intended to lay out some of the most important values and assumptions underlying the debate on U.S. trade policy and to spur discussion on the direction our country should take regarding this pressing issue. When you meet next time, you will have an opportunity to discuss U.S. trade policy with others. The following statements are designed to help you clarify your thoughts on what is most important to you concerning this issue. Take a few moments to respond. This is a tool for you to get started. It will not be collected.

Rate each of the statements according to your beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ More than any other single factor, our country's ability to compete in the global economy will determine the fate of the United States in the coming century.

___ The United States should not trade with nations that grossly abuse the human rights of their citizens.

___ The interests of the United States can be maintained only if we resolutely exercise our power and influence in international affairs.

___ The United States should be willing to give up some of its own sovereignty to promote international cooperation.

___ The economic prosperity of our trading partners contributes to the

prosperity of Americans as well.

___ In a competitive economic world, one country's gain is usually another country's loss.

___ The success and failure of trade policy should be judged by how it affects American workers.

___ In our increasingly global economy, we are putting American companies at a disadvantage if we do not provide government support to promising new technologies.

___ The United States cannot afford to give other nations a say in policies by which Americans must live.

Suggested reading

Brock, William E. and Hormats, Robert D., eds. *The Global Economy: America's Role in the Decade Ahead* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990).

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Pendergrast, Mark. *For God, Country and Coca-Cola* (New York: Scribner, 1993).

Chapter 5

Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S. Policy

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In September 1994, representatives from 150 countries assembled in Cairo for the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development. After over a week of often heated debate, the participants put forth a plan of action that aimed to stabilize the world's population at 7.27 billion by 2015. The discussion in Cairo, however, extended well beyond population. Along with pondering humanity's ever-growing numbers, conference delegates examined issues of economic development, women's rights, and global environmental problems.

The Cairo conference came two years after another ground-breaking

Global Environmental Problems

To understand why ecological concerns have become part of the international as well as domestic agenda, we must examine how environmental threats affect life on the planet. The following will summarize the causes and possible consequences of five critical environmental problems: global warming, ozone depletion, acid rain, deforestation and desertification, and the decline of biodiversity.

Global warming

Much of the current anxiety regarding environmental problems has revolved around global warming. Many scientists believe that man-made changes in the atmosphere over the last 200 years will produce a worldwide increase in temperatures during the 21st century. The buildup of carbon dioxide, methane, nitrogen oxides, chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), and other trace gases is thought to contribute to this process. These gases are often referred to as greenhouse gases because of the way they trap heat in the atmosphere.

Carbon dioxide is the gas that has received the most attention from scientists. Carbon dioxide not only sustains plant life, but also absorbs much of the earth's infrared (long-wave) energy that would otherwise be radiated back into space. By absorbing this heat energy, carbon dioxide keeps the earth warm enough to support life. Humanity, however, has added carbon dioxide to the atmosphere by burning fossil fuels such as oil, coal, and natural gas. Since the start of the Industrial Revolution, the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased by 25 percent.

Many scientists predict that the buildup in carbon dioxide and other gases will increase temperatures three to eight degrees Fahrenheit by the end of the next century. If these predictions prove correct, dramatic changes could take place worldwide. Warmer temperatures, for example, would affect rainfall patterns and agricultural practices. Sudden climate change may also lead to the extinction of plant and animal species that cannot adapt. Moreover, scientists fear that global warming would raise the level of the world's seas as the polar icecaps melt. Nearly 20 percent of the world's people, as well as many of the planet's most fragile ecosystems, could be vulnerable to coastal flooding.

Other scientists contend that an increase in

international meeting — the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro. The Rio gathering, known as the Earth Summit, was the largest assembly of national leaders in history. For twelve days in June 1992, representatives from 178 countries addressed global warming, the loss of biodiversity, and other environmental concerns that had only recently gained international attention.

The Cairo population conference and the Rio Earth Summit illustrate a new dimension of international relations. Since the earliest days of international diplomacy, states have generally come together to discuss matters of war and trade. Degradation of the environment, if considered at all, was

temperatures will take place at a slower rate than projected, and that humanity will have enough time to adjust. Some believe that the theory of global warming remains unproven, emphasizing that the global climate is more complex than the computer models used to predict future global temperatures.

Ozone depletion

Scientists have learned that certain chemicals damage the ozone layer — the atmospheric shield ten to twenty-five miles above the earth that prevents much of the sun's ultraviolet (UV) radiation from reaching the surface of the planet. In 1985, scientists discovered a hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica the size of the continental United States. Equally alarming, scientists in early 1992 announced that a smaller hole in the ozone layer had opened up over the North Pole, leaving people in Canada and the northernmost areas of United States and Eurasia vulnerable to increased ultraviolet radiation.

Chemicals containing chlorine and bromine have been linked to the destruction of the ozone layer. When these chemicals are released into the atmosphere, they slowly rise into the stratosphere and eat away at the ozone layer for about 100 years. Of the chlorine-producing chemicals, CFCs have the greatest impact. They are used in refrigeration, air conditioners, aerosols, upholstery, foam insulation, and packing materials. (They also contribute to global warming.) Most developed countries have begun to phase out the use of chemicals that destroy the ozone layer. DuPont, the world's leading producer of CFCs, plans to end CFC production by the year 2000.

Ozone depletion could have serious consequences for human health, plants, and sea life. Greater exposure to UV radiation would result in increased rates of skin cancer, cataracts, and immune system problems. Scientists predict that additional UV radiation would also reduce crop yields and harm phytoplankton, the first link in the aquatic food chain.

Acid rain

Acid rain results from the pollutants emitted by the combustion of fossil fuels, especially coal. The leading agents of acid rain, sulfur and nitrogen oxides, are released by smokestacks, smelting plants, and automobiles. Once in the

thought of strictly in a local context. Recent years, however, have witnessed a conceptual leap. Not only have scientific terms such as greenhouse gases and the ozone layer entered the arena of public policy, but environmental problems are increasingly seen as global in scope. Whether the issue is acid rain over the Great Lakes, the destruction of the rain forest in the Amazon Basin, or desertification in the Horn of Africa, there is a growing sense that the health of the planet's ecology belongs on the international agenda.

The meetings in Cairo and Rio also served to highlight a widening rift in international relations. At both conferences, the political battles pitted the wealthy developed nations of the North against the poor developing countries of the South. At the Earth Summit, for example, most developed countries had hoped that the gathering would be devoted exclusively to protecting the environment. In contrast, nations of the developing world

atmosphere, these pollutants are converted to acid, then return to the earth's surface as precipitation, often hundreds of miles from their source. Scientists believe that acid rain also damages forests. Excess acids leach nutrients from forest soils and impair the ability of trees to use the remaining nutrients.

Acid rain has emerged as a controversial problem among industrialized nations. Germans, who grieve over the destruction of their Black Forest, claim that more than half of their acid rain originates elsewhere. Similarly, Canadians point out that the acid rain they receive from the United States is up to four times more than the amount that the United States receives from Canada. Recently, the two neighbors agreed to stricter measures to reduce sulfur emissions.

Greater concern about acid rain has led many industrialized countries to control sulfur oxide pollution by promoting the use of scrubbers in coal plants and other new technologies. In the developing world, however, increased industrialization and automobile use threatens to extend the problem of acid rain to even more areas.

Deforestation and desertification

Since ancient times, people have cleared trees for agriculture and settlements. The great civilizations of the Mediterranean world devastated the woodlands of the region. The forests of Britain are one-tenth of the size of the forests that existed there 3,000 to 4,000 years ago. In areas where rainfall is scarce — amounting to one-third of the earth's land — chopping down forests often leads to the spread of desert.

These two processes — deforestation and desertification — are closely linked. The root structure of trees holds soil in place and provides nutrients for ground cover. Clearing away trees therefore leaves soil exposed to the full force of rain and wind. Poor farming practices and short-sighted irrigation methods also lead to soil erosion. Livestock further degrades the land by eating young plants and leaving behind hard-packed trails and gullies.

Every year, approximately 70,000 square miles of land are damaged beyond further agricultural use. In the 1930s, grasslands of the American Great Plains that had been plowed up

looked upon the conference as an opportunity to address the enormous gulf in wealth that separates the North from the South.

The U.S. position on global environmental problems is especially critical. As in other countries, threats to the environment within our borders force us to weigh the trade-offs of economic growth. In addition, our country's international stature gives the United States a leading voice on global environmental problems. Should we use our influence to promote international cooperation to protect the planet's ecosystem? Or should we reject strategies that strengthen the power of the United Nations and other international organizations? Should we join with developing countries to bridge the gap in wealth between the North and the South? Or should we narrowly focus on limiting pollution and controlling population growth in poor nations? This chapter will help prepare you to consider these questions.

during the previous decade were turned into a dust bowl by drought. Today, productive land is being lost to desert primarily in Africa, where 26 percent of the continent is undergoing some form of desertification. Tropical forests also suffer. In Brazil, which contains 26 percent of the world's tropical forests, trees have been cleared in the Amazon River basin for cattle ranching, logging, and agriculture. Since tropical forests absorb much of the atmosphere's carbon dioxide and release large amounts of carbon dioxide when burned, their loss could speed up global warming.

Decline of biodiversity

Biodiversity — the range of life on the planet — is beyond human power to replace. Some biologists predict that the earth may lose one-fifth of its existing species in the next twenty years. Concern for preserving biodiversity centers particularly on areas that are rich in wildlife, such as tropical rainforests. Although tropical rainforests cover only 6 percent of the earth, they contain over half the world's species. Every year, more than 40 million acres of tropical rainforest — an area the size of Washington state — are lost, and with them 4,000 to 6,000 tropical species.

Other species-rich habitats are also endangered. Wetlands in the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere have been damaged by development. Mangrove swamps, particularly in developing countries, are vanishing. Fisheries in the United States and Canada also report a loss of freshwater fish species.

Environmental organizations in developed countries have been largely responsible for laws protecting endangered species. The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980 set aside an area larger than California to preserve Arctic wildlife. Protecting wildlife, however, has also sparked protest from industries, such as timber and energy, that are barred from protected areas. Many developing countries, such as Kenya and Rwanda, are also attempting to protect wildlife by expanding their parks and preserves. Scientific work with African primates has also resulted in stricter laws. In parts of Africa, however, poor countries have had trouble maintaining preserves and enforcing regulations.

SECTION 1

Determining U.S. policy

No country has as much impact on the global environment as the United States. With just 5 percent of the world's population, the United States consumes nearly 25 percent of the world's energy and produces nearly 25 percent of the world's output of goods and services.

The American public's concern over air and water pollution first surfaced as an important political issue in the 1960s. The passage of the National Environmental Policy Act and the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970 has served as a model for other countries. During the 1980s, however, the U.S. position on the environment shifted. The election of Ronald Reagan as president in 1980 brought a more conservative outlook on environmental issues to the White House. President Reagan, and later George Bush, sought to reduce governmental regulation of the economy and, in turn, opposed environmental measures that hampered economic growth. Meanwhile, other developed nations adopted stronger environmental legislation. By 1992, limits on air pollution in Japan and Germany were nearly four times as rigorous as those in the United States.

Clinton's stance

Since his election, President Bill Clinton has redirected U.S. environmental policy. Unlike President Bush, Clinton believes that the United States can profit from developing environmentally sound technologies. Warning that Japan and Germany are moving quickly to capture the "green market," Clinton has pushed for greater U.S. investment in this field.

Clinton's initiatives include a partnership between the government and American automakers in order to produce more fuel-efficient vehicles. General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, in fact, already have begun developing engines that are not powered by gasoline. The research in the automobile industry has been prompted in large part by a California law that requires companies by 1998 to offer models in the state that do not pollute the air.

President Clinton's commitment to global environmental issues also has resulted in changes in U.S. policy to meet international standards. In 1993, the Clinton administration presented a plan to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000, satisfying the Earth Summit's climate change treaty. Although Clinton's initiative relied mainly on voluntary

cooperation, the president warned that new regulations could be imposed if businesses fail to adopt the guidelines.

Weighing the place of government

Both supporters and opponents of President Clinton's environmental policy recognize that environmental concerns cannot be separated from economic matters. Although Clinton views the relationship as an opportunity, others see a dilemma. The contrasting perspectives are part of a larger debate on humanity's record in the modern age.

In the past two centuries, science and technology have brought solutions to many of our age-old problems. Advances in medicine, for example, have reduced the threat of many deadly diseases. Yet each step has brought with it unforeseen consequences. When CFCs were invented more than sixty years ago, they were hailed as a safe alternative to ammonia and other dangerous coolants used in refrigerators. No one imagined that the same chemicals posed a threat to the ozone layer.

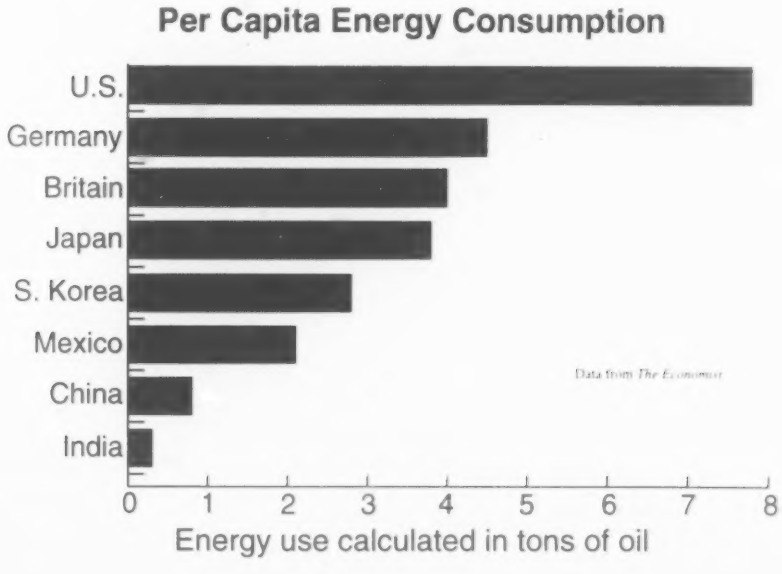
As a world leader in science and technology, the United States has long dealt with the dilemmas of modern society. The United States already spends more money on the environment — just over 2 percent of the gross national

Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

product — than any other country. Most of that spending is borne by businesses in response to government regulations. The 1990 Clean Air Act, for example, requires industry to reduce emissions of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, and other chemicals.

Some officials believe new taxes will reduce pollution and increase economic competitiveness. Governments have long imposed heavy taxes on products that are considered harmful, such as alcohol and tobacco, to discourage consumption. Based on similar reasoning, five European countries have introduced taxes on the carbon content in fossil fuels.

Advocates of a carbon tax in the United States note that taxes on gasoline in this country are a fraction of those in Western Europe and Japan. While Germans, for example, pay about $1.50 in taxes for a gallon of gasoline and the French pay more than $2 a gallon, U.S. consumers pay, on average, less than forty cents per gallon in state and federal taxes. Environmentalists contend that a carbon tax would not only spur conservation, but would also raise revenue to support other environmental programs. The logic behind a carbon tax also could be applied to other pollutants, such as sulfur and nitrogen oxides. Opponents of the plan fear the economic impact of pollution taxes, arguing that a carbon tax would fall heaviest on poor and middle-income automobile owners.



In 1993, discussion of an energy tax was at the center of the debate on President Clinton's proposed five-year budget package. After rejecting a carbon tax, Clinton advocated a general tax on all energy as the most equitable approach. Senators from Louisiana, Oklahoma, and other energy-producing states, however, argued that the tax would impose a heavy penalty on their local economies. To gain approval for the budget package in Congress, Clinton's allies accepted a proposal to increase the gasoline tax by 4.3 cents a gallon.

Promoting "green" industries

On an even broader scale, Clinton administration officials have favored a more active role for government in promoting environmentally sound technologies. In addition to initiating a government-industry partnership to develop more fuel-efficient cars, the president ordered the federal government to buy paper made from at least 20 percent recycled fiber by the end of 1994 and 30 percent by the end of 1998.

Some business executives want the United States to follow the lead of Japan, where corporations are urged to prepare for a new phase of international competition by exceeding the environmental standards of foreign countries where they operate. They note that the Japanese government is already investing in technologies designed to be environmentally friendly. American scientists are also looking forward to greater funding for research projects that promise a greener future.

As critics of such proposals point out, however, government has little money for new initiatives. Moreover, they are wary of a government hand that picks winners and losers among emerging technologies, arguing that free market competition is a better decision-maker. They contend that the cause of environmentalism is often used to camouflage the interests of those advocating expanded government control over the economy and a broader role for international organizations.

Although the debate over Clinton's environmental policies is viewed largely in the context of domestic affairs, it also speaks to the U.S. role in addressing global environmental problems. Both sides of the debate in this area appreciate that the distinction between domestic and international environmental issues has become increasingly blurred. Supporters of strong environmental measures, such as a carbon tax, typically hope that the United States will cooperate closely with other members of the international community to address environmental threats. In contrast, critics of such

Energy Choices

In the environmental debate, energy stands out as a major issue. Particularly important are government policies on conservation and new technologies. Higher energy prices in the 1970s spurred conservation measures in the United States, such as a lower national speed limit and fuel efficiency standards for cars. After the fall of energy prices in the mid-1980s, however, progress on conservation slowed. Gasoline prices in 1994 were comparable to prices before 1973. Americans, in turn, are driving more and buying less fuel-efficient cars. In contrast, Germans and Japanese use half as much energy per person as Americans.

On a global scale, the largest increases in fossil fuel consumption are occurring in rapidly industrializing countries. By 2020, the developing world as a whole is expected to consume 40 percent of the world's fossil fuels, up from the current level of 28 percent. In 1993 alone, China's oil consumption jumped 11 percent.

Worldwide emissions of greenhouse gases could be reduced by substituting **natural gas**, which produces much less pollution, for **oil** and **coal**. Currently, natural gas provides one-fifth of the world's commercial energy. Much of the world's untapped natural gas, however, lies in remote, unspoiled locations.

Advances in new energy technologies also hold promise, but they raise questions of cost and feasibility. **Nuclear power**, which currently produces about 12 percent of the world's electricity, was once acclaimed as a source of clean, safe, inexpensive energy. Nuclear accidents — most notably the explosion within a nuclear power plant in Chernobyl, Ukraine, in 1986 — has focused greater public attention on the dangers of nuclear power. Despite these dangers, nuclear power has gained support in many countries. France, for example, meets 75 percent of its electricity needs with nuclear power. Advocates of nuclear power note that fission does not produce greenhouse gases, and argue that new technology has reduced safety risks and improved efficiency.

Solar energy does not pose the safety problems associated with nuclear power. Moreover, it is virtually non-polluting and renewable. Advances in technology have made solar power less expensive than nuclear power for some California utility companies. Even so, critics argue that solar energy is years away from being competitive with other sources.

Among the more experimental forms of energy, **fusion** has attracted the most attention. Fusion produces energy by forcing the nuclei of atoms together in a process that produces much less radioactive waste than nuclear fission and no greenhouse gases. Fusion research is extremely expensive. A proposed fusion project in Livermore, California, relying on laser technology would require roughly $1 billion from the United States. Meanwhile, an international effort that would include U.S., Japanese, Western European, and Russian scientists in a plan to build a prototype fusion reactor would carry a $6 billion pricetag for the nations involved.

Each energy source has advantages and disadvantages. Coal, for example, is relatively plentiful and inexpensive, but contributes significantly to the buildup of greenhouse gases. In contrast, solar power does not produce pollutants, but has yet to be seen as economically practical. As the United States considers its energy choices, decisions about the distribution of research funds and the direction of environmental regulations will be crucial.

measures fear that, in the name of environmental protection, the United States will be hamstrung by internationally mandated regulations.

SECTION 2

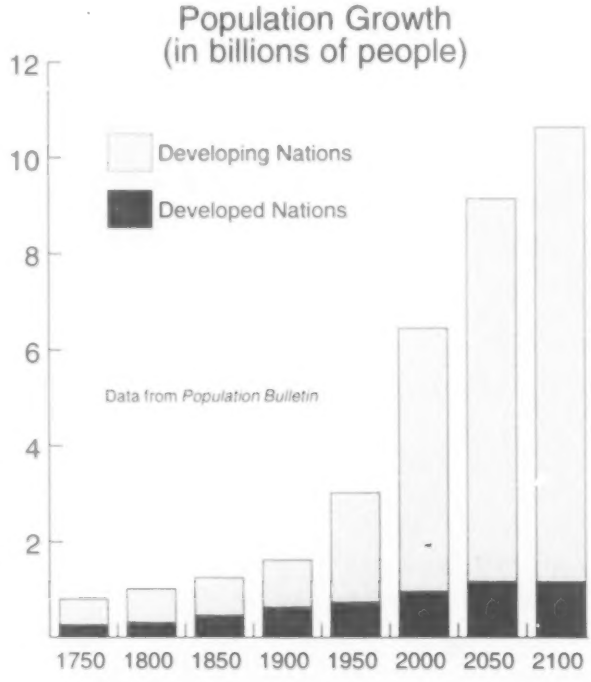
Humanity's impact on the environment

Since 1900, world population has more than tripled. By 1994, our planet was home to 5.7 billion people, with population growing at the rate of 86 million a year. Almost 95 percent of this growth occurs in developing countries. Population figures, however, are only part of the story. Equally important are consumption patterns. Although there is little population growth in the developed world, people use a much greater proportion of the world's resources than their counterparts in developing countries. For example, an American uses 36 times more commercial energy (energy that is produced and sold) than does an Indian.

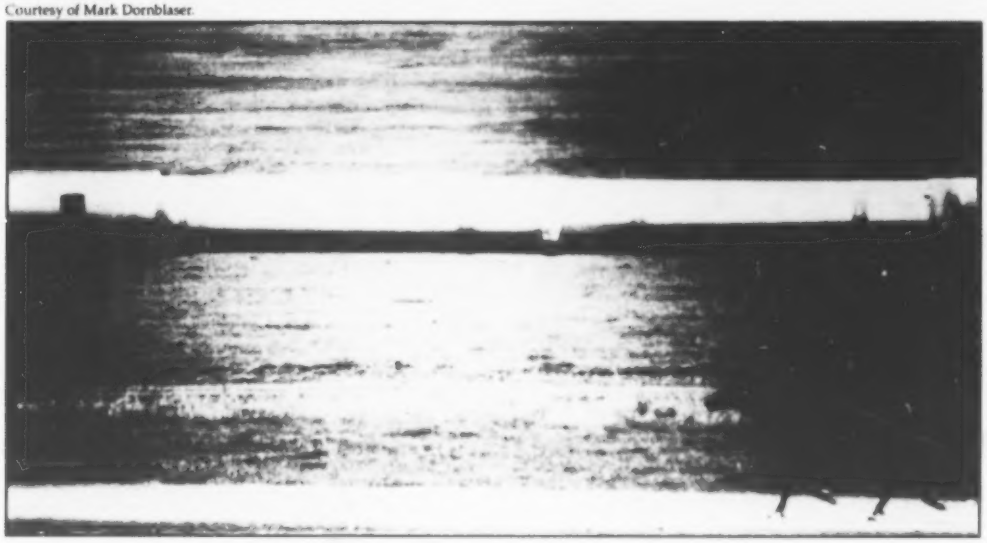
Dilemmas of industrialization

For most developed countries of the world, industrialization has raised living standards to levels previously unknown in human history. Billions of people in developing countries hope to one day have the lifestyle Americans enjoy. Scientists fear, however, that if the developing world follows the pattern of industrialization pursued by wealthy nations over the past two centuries, the earth will be unable to support the increased level of consumption.

Many of the environmental problems associated with industrialization are caused by the use of fossil fuels. Americans are particularly dependent on oil. In 1993,



Courtesy of Mark Dornblaser.



A caribou grazes near an oil pipeline in Alaska.

U.S. petroleum usage exceeded the total production of oil in the United States by nearly two and a half times. As developing countries have taken steps toward industrialization, they too have followed development plans based on fossil fuels. Coal's relatively low cost and abundance has also made it especially attractive for poor countries on the road to industrialization. However, coal also produces more pollution than other fuels. China, for example, generates 76 percent of its commercial energy from coal, making it the third largest contributor of carbon dioxide emissions — behind the United States and the former Soviet Union.

The modernization of agriculture also has contributed to pollution. Farmers today, even in developing countries, often rely on gasoline-powered vehicles and agricultural chemicals to boost food production. The amount of land under cultivation worldwide has increased by 450 percent in the past three centuries. These changes have led to higher emissions of greenhouse gases.

Methane gas from agriculture in particular has increased. Produced by bacteria in the stomachs of livestock and in the soil of rice paddies as well as in landfills, swamps, and mining operations, methane retains heat in the atmosphere more efficiently than carbon dioxide. Concentrations of methane in the atmosphere are increasing at four times the rate of carbon dioxide and account for an estimated 12 to 20 percent of global warming.

Different regions, different problems

Although each country has responded differently to the dilemmas of industrialization, the nations of the world may be divided into four broad categories according to their economic and environmental concerns.

The developed world consists of the most advanced industrialized nations, including the United States, Japan, and the countries of Western Europe. The developed world consumes the bulk of the world's resources and produces more than half of the world's wealth. In the process, the developed world has been primarily responsible for the pollutants that contribute to global warming, ozone depletion, and acid rain. The United States alone is responsible for 20 percent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions. Developed countries have implemented the strongest measures to address environmental threats.

The former Soviet bloc suffers from many of the worst features of industrialization. Countries there continue to rely on poor-quality, high-polluting coal and backward, energy-inefficient technologies. In Russia, for example, factories use twice as much energy as their American counterparts for the same output. Russian energy officials estimate that 25 percent of the

Courtesy of Paul Steudler

Economic development has taken a heavy toll in the Amazon region of Brazil.

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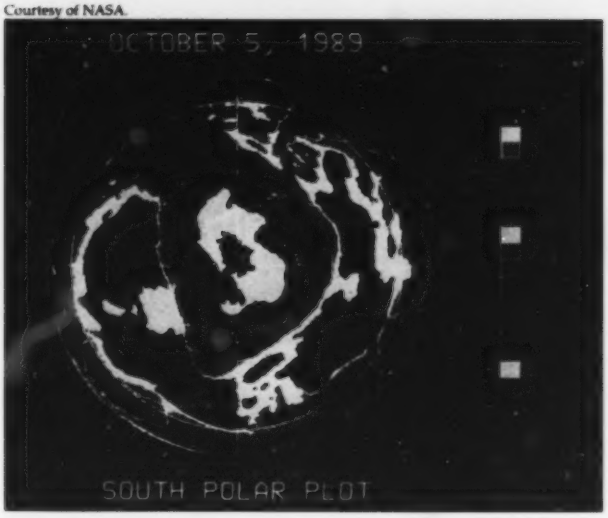
Courtesy of NASA.



A satellite photo of ozone depletion over Antarctica.

country's natural gas production is lost to leakage and inefficiency. Meanwhile, energy producers lack the resources to upgrade their equipment. Nuclear power facilities also pose a serious threat in much of the former Soviet bloc. The explosion within a nuclear reactor at Chernobyl in Ukraine in 1986 heightened fears about more than a dozen similarly designed facilities.

Newly industrializing countries consist mostly of nations in Asia and Latin America that have embarked on economic programs emphasizing rapid industrial development. These countries have turned largely to fossil fuels in order to transform their societies. In many emerging manufacturing areas, pollution rivals the worst period of industrialization in the United States. Cities like Calcutta and Jakarta suffer from thick smog caused primarily by the burning of poor-quality coal and organic matter. While many nations have increased their use of private cars, they lack fuel efficiency standards and air quality regulations. Newly industrializing countries argue that wealthier countries should provide financial assistance to help them address global environmental problems. China and India, for example, have insisted that developed countries provide aid as compensation for phasing out technologies that use CFCs.

The underdeveloped world consists of the poorest countries of the world, located mostly in Africa and South Asia. In these countries, environmental problems are caused less by industrialization than by growing numbers of people struggling for survival. Since more people rely on the land for food and fuel in these areas, deforestation, desertification, and declining biodiversity are widespread. The famine that struck Somalia in 1992, prompting U.S. troops to intervene to protect international relief efforts, was brought on in part by the Sahel's desertification. Because of their often desperate conditions, many underdeveloped countries are more open to far-reaching global programs. Bangladesh, the Maldives islands, and other low-lying countries are particularly concerned that rising sea levels, a result

of global warming, may flood their lands. Nonetheless, many underdeveloped nations also fear losing control of their natural resources to wealthier countries. For example, underdeveloped countries want a share of the profits from new products derived from species within their borders.

SECTION 3

The North-South divide

As was evident at both the Cairo population conference and the Rio Earth Summit, international environmental efforts over the past two decades have often been framed by North-South friction. Although there is a general agreement that the earth's ecology is a vitally important concern, leaders of rich and poor countries differ on who is responsible for cleaning up pollution and what should be done.

Developed nations point to the spiraling population growth rates and the often reckless industrialization of the developing world as the chief threat to the environment. They want poor countries to take stronger measures to curb population growth and address environmental problems. In contrast, developing nations point the finger at the developed economies, noting that the roughly 1 billion people who live in the developed world consume well over half of the world's resources and emit most of the pollutants implicated in global warming, ozone depletion, and other global environmental problems. They argue that the need for economic development in poor countries cannot be overlooked in efforts to clean up the global environment, and that rich countries should absorb the bulk of the costs in helping poor nations meet international standards.

International agreements

Many aspects of the North-South dispute are reflected in the agreements produced at the Earth Summit. Most ambitious is Agenda 21, an 800-page set of guidelines that covers both the environment and economic development, while avoiding many of the thorniest issues. Population growth is hardly mentioned, due to pressure from developing countries. At the same time, developed nations largely succeeded in keeping new regulations that would have affected multinational corporations out of the document. The Commission on Sustainable Development was created to hold governments accountable for implementing Agenda 21, but the commission has no

enforcement power other than international pressure.

The Earth Summit also produced two legally binding treaties: the Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity. The United States and other developed countries originally had intended to craft a strong treaty on deforestation that would have banned logging in tropical forests. Many developing countries, however, balked at sacrificing their economic growth for environmental protection. India and Malaysia, for example, campaigned against measures that would have regulated their tropical wood industry. Instead, they put forward proposals that logging be restricted in the forests of the developed world. Unable to agree, participants endorsed a vague statement of principles on preserving the world's forests.

The Cairo population conference resurrected many of the controversies of the Earth Summit. Developed countries emphasized the need to expand family planning programs and to improve women's health services in poor nations. Leaders from the developing world, however, voiced concern that foreign aid for population control was an attempt to impose Western values on their cultures.

Foreign aid

At the center of the North-South divide is the issue of foreign aid. Organizers of the Earth Summit estimated that $125 billion in aid would be needed annually to implement the conference's recommendations. Meeting that target would require developed countries to increase foreign aid spending by 70 percent. A number of Western European countries responded with a pledge to contribute 0.7 percent of their gross national product to development assistance by the year 2000. Western Europe's economic recession, however, forced many of them to scale back their contributions. Likewise, Americans have shown little enthusiasm for increasing foreign aid spending.

Since the Earth Summit, the dispute over environmentally related foreign aid has been played out primarily in the Global Environment Facility (GEF). In 1994, developed countries pledged to donate $2 billion to the GEF over three years to help poor nations meet the standards set at the Earth Summit. Conflict has revolved around the GEF's decision-making process. Developing countries have long pressed for a larger voice in determining how foreign aid should be spent. Many are especially critical of the World Bank, which has a key administrative role in the GEF. They contend that the World Bank largely represents the interests of the developed world and has

often contributed to ecological damage in the developing world by carrying out its projects. In hopes of balancing the interests of rich and poor countries, GEF member states agreed in 1994 to a compromise decision-making procedure for allocating aid.

The U.S. position

U.S. environmental policy in the international arena underwent a pronounced shift after the election of Bill Clinton. Under the Bush administration, the U.S. tone at the Earth Summit was often combative. U.S. officials led the developed bloc in arguing that poor countries should do more to help themselves. For example, they criticized governments in the developing world for providing electricity and irrigation water at cut-rate prices. Selling natural resources too cheaply, they asserted, encouraged inefficiency, waste, and pollution. The United States also lobbied to weaken the Earth Summit's climate change treaty and refused to sign the biodiversity treaty. Bush feared that the biodiversity treaty would allow foreign countries to claim a share of the research, profits, and technology of U.S. biotechnology companies.

After coming to office, Clinton reversed many of the Bush administration's decisions. He pledged to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by the UN deadline and signed the biodiversity treaty. In 1994, U.S. officials supported strengthening provisions in the climate change treaty to curtail greenhouse gas emissions in the 21st century. The United States also became the largest donor to the GEF, contributing $430 million. Closer to home, however, President Clinton backed away from his campaign promise to raise federal standards for automobile fuel efficiency.

SECTION 4

Views on U.S. options

Now that you have read about some of the issues related to U.S. policy on global environmental problems, it is time to take a closer look at what our country's position should be. In this section, you will explore four views on U.S. global environmental policy. As you will see, each of the views is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs, and is shaped by a well-defined perspective on the threats and opportunities facing the United States.

The views presented address three fundamental questions that frame the

discussion on U.S. policy toward global environmental problems:

•How significant are the threats posed by environmental degradation? Should the potential gravity of global warming, ozone depletion, and other environmental problems give them priority over other concerns? Or should global environmental problems rank below those economic issues that have a more immediate impact on people's lives?

•Which parts of the world pose the greatest threats to the global environment? Should the United States and other developed countries accept responsibility for contributing most to global environmental problems and take steps to reduce consumption? Or should the developed world concentrate on pressuring developing countries to curb population growth and establish strict measures to reduce pollution?

•What should our relationship be with the international community regarding global environmental problems? Should the United States cooperate with the United Nations to establish global environmental standards and be willing to give up some of its sovereignty to international organizations? Or should the United States chart its own course on environmental policy and guard against efforts to extend the authority of the United Nations?

Each of the four views that follows responds differently to the above questions. You should think of the views as a tool designed to help you examine the contrasting strategies from which Americans must define our country's role in the world and craft future policy.

View 1 — Put the economy first

Global environmental problems should take a back seat to reinvigorating the U.S. economy. That's what really touches the lives of Americans today. At a time when the United States is locked in an intense struggle for global economic competitiveness, we cannot afford environmental policies that will hamstring our economy and cost American jobs. The livelihoods of American workers should not be sacrificed in the name of a distant and uncertain threat, particularly while scientists continue to debate the meaning of ambiguous research data.

CONSIDERING TRADE-OFFS

•Will neglecting environmental problems in the name of economic growth result in still greater harm to the health of both future generations and the planet as a whole?

- Will refusing to work with the United Nations on global environmental issues leave the United States isolated in the international community?
- Will giving environmental problems a low priority cause U.S. science and industry to fall behind in an expanding field?

View 2 — Take the lead

We should take the lead in developing environmentally friendly technologies that strengthen our economy. Faced with competition from Western Europe and Japan, the United States cannot afford to lag behind in this expanding field. To accomplish our goals, the United States should avoid becoming entangled in the endless debates and discussions of international organizations. By acting decisively, not only do we provide a cleaner world for future generations of Americans, but we also ensure that the United States remains on the cutting edge of science and industry.

Considering trade-offs

- Will charting our own course on environmental policies offend our key allies and spark resentment in developing countries?
- Will the absence of a cooperative international approach to the environment lead to a worsening of global problems, such as the decline of biodiversity?
- Will investing tax dollars in unproven environmental technologies deprive other emerging industries of capital and increase the budget deficit?

View 3 — Share environmental responsibility

Despite the progress of wealthy nations in curbing pollution, the developing world's rapid population growth and irresponsible development continues to pose a mounting threat to the planet. Isolating ourselves from damage to the environment is not possible. In the end, only the developed countries have the technological know-how and the economic strength to restore the health of the planet. With the other developed nations, we should address the problems that lead to environmental destruction and oversee programs to implement environmentally responsible policies in poor countries.

Considering trade-offs

- Will poor countries refuse to cooperate if the developed world takes the lead in setting global environmental policies that hamper their development?

•Will increased spending on international environmental programs siphon resources away from addressing pressing problems here at home?

•Will the bureaucracy and regulations required to coordinate international environmental efforts stifle the growth of U.S. businesses, especially in the field of environmental technologies?

View 4 — Promote global stewardship

With the survival of the planet at stake, global environmental problems outweigh national interests and must rank as the top priority on our national agenda. As Americans, we must recognize that we are responsible for more than our share of pollution, and we should channel our technological resources toward creating a global economy that is environmentally sustainable for generations to come. The common good of the planet requires that we be willing to give up some of our sovereignty to international organizations and embrace countries of the developing world as partners in global decision-making on environmental issues.

CONSIDERING TRADE-OFFS

•Will greatly expanding the power of international organizations to govern the environment mean giving up authority to manage our country's land, water, and air?

•Will giving poor countries broader international influence and additional economic aid foster still greater corruption and inefficiency in the developing world, while doing little to improve the environment?

•Will stringent new regulations and big increases in government spending drag down the U.S. economy?

Your turn

These views are by no means the only U.S. options. Rather, they are intended to lay out some of the most important values and assumptions underlying the debate on U.S. environmental policy and to spur discussion on the direction our country should take regarding this pressing issue. When you meet next time, you will have an opportunity to discuss U.S. environmental policy with others. The following statements are designed to help you clarify your thoughts on what is most important to you concerning this issue. Take a few moments to respond. This is a tool for you to get started. It will not be collected.

Rate each of the statements according to your beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support 3 = Oppose 5 = Undecided
2 = Support 4 = Strongly Oppose

___ The interests of the United States can be maintained only if we resolutely exercise our power and influence in international affairs.
___ Americans today need to make sacrifices in their way of life to safeguard the world for future generations.
___ Problems in the international arena are far less important for Americans than the challenges we face at home, such as poverty, crime, and budget deficits.
___ Countries that are poor and technologically backward have only themselves to blame.
___ The United States should recognize that problems in the developing world, such as poverty and environmental degradation, must be addressed as problems that affect everyone on the planet.
___ In our competitive world, the United States cannot afford to give up any advantage in science and technology.
___ To solve global environmental problems, rich and poor countries must work together.
___ The health of the U.S. economy has a greater impact on the lives of Americans than any other issue.
___ The United States should be willing to give up some of its own sovereignty to promote international cooperation.
___ The United States cannot afford to give other nations a say in policies by which Americans must live.

Suggested reading

Bowler, Peter J. *The Norton History of the Environmental Sciences* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993).

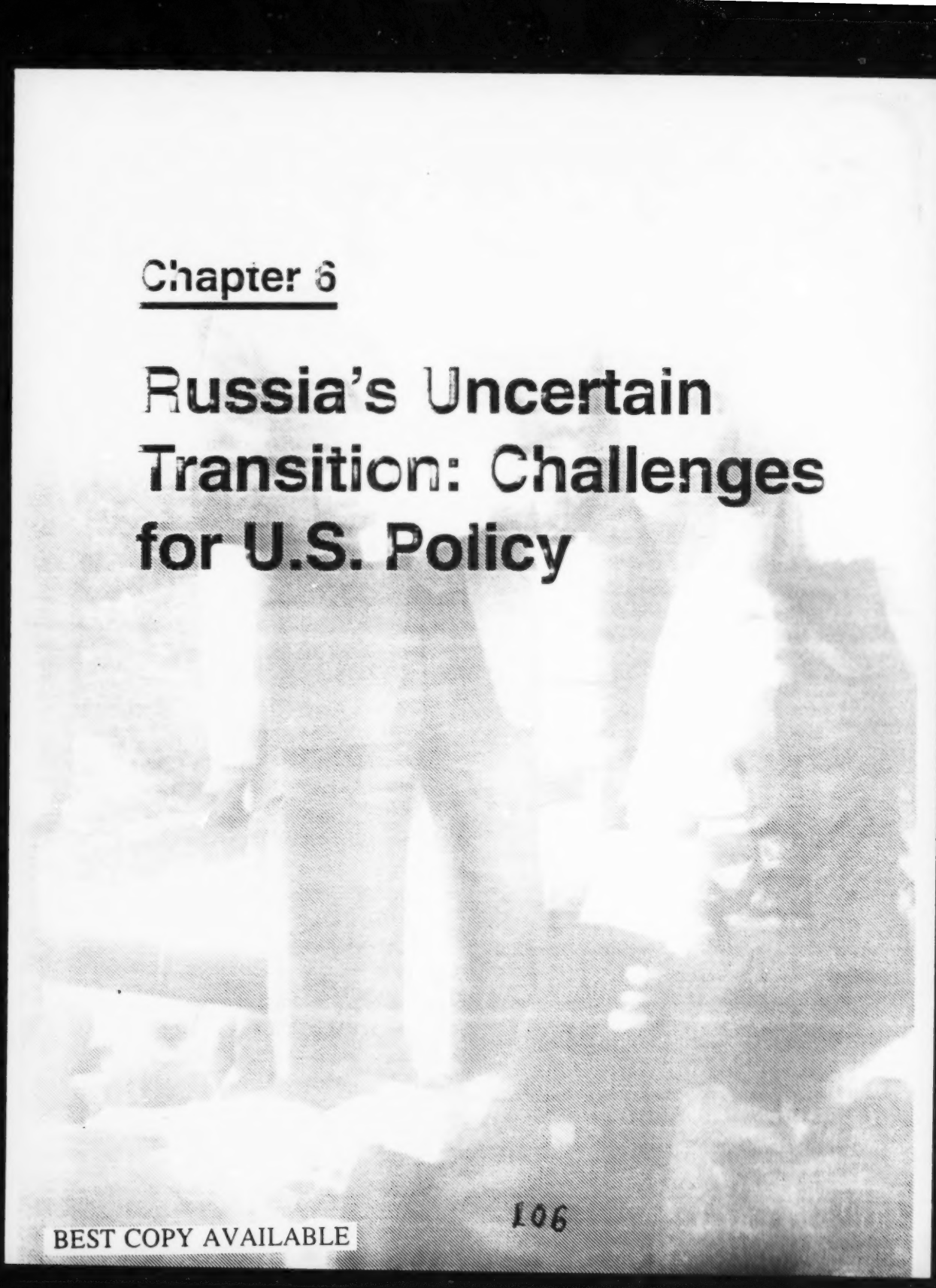
Mowrey, Marc. *Not In Our Backyard: The People and Events that Shaped America's Modern Environmental Movement* (New York: W. Morrow, 1993).

Silver, Cheryl Simon and DeFries, Ruth S. *One Earth One Future: Our Changing Global Environment* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1990).

Simon, Julian L. and Kahn, Herman, eds. *The Resourceful Earth: A Response to Global 2000* (Oxford and New York: B. Blackwell, 1984).

Chapter 6

Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy



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In May 1994, the United States and Russia erased the codes that were needed to launch their long-range nuclear missiles at each other's territory. For the first time since they were developed in the late 1950s, Russian long-range nuclear missiles were no longer targeted to strike American cities, and vice versa. The decision, based on a U.S.-Russian agreement signed in January 1994, illustrates the new relationship between the United States and Russia. Reprogramming the missiles has reduced the risk of an accidental nuclear launch and lowered tensions in the international arena.

Origins of the Soviet System

When V.I. Lenin proclaimed Russia a workers' state in November 1917, he and his fellow Bolsheviks imagined that communism would soon sweep over the world. In fact, Lenin's revolution made little headway outside of the borders of the old Russian empire. Instead, communism in the USSR melded with features of Russian authoritarianism during the interwar years to create an economic and political system unique to the Soviet Union.

The foundations for Soviet rule were laid principally by Josef Stalin. Stalin turned the attention of the Soviet Union away from pursuing worldwide revolution and toward industrializing the country's backward economy in order to defend communism against the capitalist countries of the West. To achieve his goals, Stalin fashioned a "command economy" under which the state controlled all aspects of economic activity. Government planners made every decision, from how much wheat would be grown to how many shoes would be manufactured.

In the early 1930s, when one-quarter of the labor force in the United States was unemployed, Stalin could claim that the state provided everyone with a job in the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the closed nature of Soviet society smothered news about Stalin's reign of terror and network of prison camps that would take more than 10 million lives.

The events of recent years have opened a new era in U.S. foreign policy. Russia is no longer the all-consuming focus of our country's concerns. But Russia remains in the international spotlight for the same reasons that the Soviet Union struck fear in many Americans during the Cold War. Even with its economy in shambles, Russia possesses a nuclear arsenal comparable to that of the United States and an army second in strength only to our own. No other country has the power to directly threaten the security of the United States. At the same time, the nearly 300 million people of Russia and the other former Soviet states represent a fresh opening for American trade and investment. The country covers one-seventh of the earth's land and contains huge reserves of oil, gas, minerals, and other natural resources.

In the wake of the Soviet Union's disintegration at the end of 1991, both U.S. and Russian officials were quick to embrace one another as partners. Substantial progress was achieved in reducing

nuclear arms and curbing international conflict. The initial enthusiasm, however, has been dimmed by the experiences of the post-Soviet era. The hope that Russia would swiftly adopt the American brand of democracy and free-market economics has been replaced by an understanding that Russia's future is far from certain. Meanwhile, the expectation that the United States and Russia would closely cooperate in the international arena has given way to a recognition that the former Cold War enemies remain divided on many important issues.

Today's U.S.-Russia agenda is crowded with difficult questions for Americans. How do changes in the former Soviet Union (FSU) affect the United States? How should we view the current direction of economic reform in Russia? How should we address the dangers posed by the enormous nuclear arsenal of the FSU? What actions, if any, should we take to influence relations among Russia and its neighbors in the former Soviet bloc? Finally, should we view Russia as a potential ally, a tough rival, a wounded enemy, or something else? This chapter will help prepare you to consider these questions.

SECTION 1

Keeping up with change

The beginning of the end of the Cold War began in 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev was selected to head the Soviet Communist Party. Pressure for change had been building gradually within the Soviet elite for nearly a decade. Economically, the Soviet system had grown increasingly corrupt and inefficient. More significantly for Moscow's global ambitions, Soviet science and technology were falling further behind the West. Internationally, Moscow had lost much of its prestige in the Third World.

Gorbachev represented a new generation of Soviet leaders. He recognized that the Soviet Union would need to undergo serious change to maintain its superpower status. Gorbachev's early efforts, however, failed to halt the Soviet Union's decline. In 1987, Gorbachev unveiled a more sweeping set of reforms to reinvigorate the Soviet Union. *Perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness) opened up Soviet society to the outside world as never before. Gorbachev had hoped that greater contact with the West would bring new technology and investment into the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev's policies were equivalent to an earthquake in international

relations. Many of the basic principles that had guided U.S. policymakers were suddenly called into question by Moscow's new outlook. The tremors also shook Eastern Europe. Although Gorbachev had no intention of giving up the Soviet Union's Eastern European empire, he was not willing to use military force to maintain control over Moscow's satellites. The first challenges to communist authority occurred in Poland and Hungary in 1988, where democratic movements forced government officials to open up the political process. In 1989, popular pressure brought down old-line communist regimes not just in Poland and Hungary, but also in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. The historic drama continued into 1990, when West and East Germany were reunified after forty-five years of division.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union

The revolutions in Eastern Europe and the reunification of Germany

The Republics of the Former Soviet Union

Republic	Population (1991)	Area in square miles	Production as a % of Soviet total (1990)	Per capita income as a % of Soviet average (1988)	Trade as a % of gross domestic product (1988)
Russia	148,500,000	6,590,950	61.2%	110%	22%
Ukraine	51,800,000	233,144	16.2%	96%	34%
Uzbekistan	20,300,000	172,542	3.2%	62%	40%
Kazakhstan	16,700,000	1,048,762	4.6%	93%	34%
Belarus	10,300,000	80,288	4.0%	102%	51%
Azerbaijan	7,100,000	33,582	1.5%	71%	42%
Georgia	5,500,000	27,020	1.5%	108%	44%
Tajikistan	5,300,000	55,198	0.8%	54%	42%
Kyrgyzstan	4,400,000	76,814	0.8%	72%	45%
Moldova	4,400,000	13,464	1.3%	84%	53%
Lithuania	3,800,000	25,170	1.4%	114%	55%
Turkmenistan	3,600,000	188,368	0.7%	71%	39%
Armenia	3,300,000	11,580	0.9%	86%	55%
Latvia	2,700,000	24,900	1.2%	123%	55%
Estonia	1,600,000	17,413	0.7%	133%	64%

were hailed throughout the world as a victory for democracy. In the Soviet Union, however, public opinion was mixed. Many Soviets, particularly those with memories of World War II, felt that control over Eastern Europe and the presence of 370,000 Soviet troops in East Germany provided a buffer against outside attack and affirmed the Soviet Union's status as a superpower.

In contrast, non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union were emboldened by events in Eastern Europe. Since 1988, national groups in the Soviet Union's non-Russian republics had been campaigning for greater control over their own affairs. In 1990, Lithuania was the first of the Soviet Union's fifteen republics to openly declare independence from Moscow. Although Gorbachev cut off heating oil to Lithuania and sent in troops to occupy Communist Party property, other republics continued to seek more autonomy from the central government.

Meanwhile, under Gorbachev's program of *perestroika*, Moscow's grip on the Soviet economy relaxed. Moscow gave factory managers and farm directors greater decision-making power and the country became more open to foreign investment. But *perestroika* was only a halfway measure. Gorbachev feared that taking measures to create a free-market economy would undermine the authority of the Communist Party. By 1990, the Soviet economy was in a tailspin. Instead of sparking initiative, *perestroika* contributed to a breakdown of the chain of command that tied local enterprises to the central government, without really giving managers freedom to act.

Faced with mounting problems and conflicting demands, Gorbachev walked a tightrope between reformers and hard-liners. In August 1991, the tightrope snapped when hard-line communists launched a coup to reassert the power of the central government. The coup organizers, however, found little active support outside the top ranks of the Communist Party. Within three days, their plot collapsed.

Following the coup, the pace of change in the Soviet Union accelerated. Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin, having led the opposition to the coup, moved decisively to transfer power from the central government to the Russian Republic. The three Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were quickly recognized as independent states. Other republics soon followed. The final death blow to the Soviet Union came in December 1991, when leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus announced the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Unable to hold the USSR together, Gorbachev resigned as Soviet president.

Bettmann

Boris Yeltsin rallies opponents of the hard-line coup in front of the Russian parliament in August 1991.

On Christmas Day, 1991, President George Bush addressed the American people on what the disintegration of the Soviet Union meant for the United States. Bush asserted that the end of the Soviet Union marked a victory for democracy, freedom, and American values. The future, according to the president, held out the promise of greater peace and prosperity worldwide, and he expressed confidence that the United States could help promote reform in the former Soviet Union.

Reform unleashed

The first stage of reform in Russia was greeted enthusiastically by U.S. leaders. In the months following the failed coup, the initiative belonged to a group of bold reformers within the government of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Economically, reformers sought to move away from the centrally planned command economy; politically they set out to end the Communist

Party's monopoly on power and push for a multi-party democracy. With the help of advisers from the United States and other Western countries, the Yeltsin government drafted a radical economic reform program known as "shock therapy" to lay the groundwork for a free-market economic system in Russia. The most important changes began in January 1992, when price controls were lifted on 90 percent of the goods sold in Russia. In addition, government spending was slashed and plans were drawn up to place state-run companies in the hands of private owners.

Shock therapy was aimed at the heart of the Soviet system. The Soviet Union after Stalin's death had placed a premium on stability and security. Workers believed that their jobs were protected regardless of economic conditions or changes in technology. Moreover, employment was tied to housing, health care, special deliveries of food, and other benefits. Nostalgia for the Soviet system gave political leverage to the government bureaucrats and factory directors who managed Russia's heavy industries. Many of them represented industries unable to compete in the global economy. Fearing that their enterprises were destined to be the losers in Russia's economic reform process, they cast themselves as defenders of worker rights in lobbying for government subsidies.

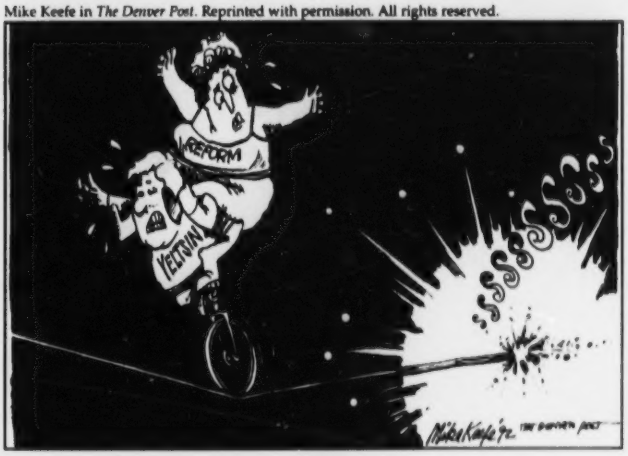
By the summer of 1992, the factory managers, state farm directors, and other defenders of the old Soviet economic system were ready to fight back. The key point of contention was the budget. The reformers favored cutting government subsidies to state-run industries to spur innovation and reduce state spending. Their opponents countered that the reform plan would result in economic chaos.

The political tug-of-war produced a confusing economic picture. Critics of shock therapy succeeded in maintaining the flow of government subsidies to big industries. Consequently, unemployment rose only slightly. Government presses, however, were working overtime to print money so that state-run factories and farms could pay their workers. At the same time, government officials imposed heavy taxes to bring in more revenue.

The economic record for 1992 pleased no one. Prices on consumer goods increased 25 times. Production fell by 19 percent, while the buying power of workers dropped by more than 40 percent. On a positive note, significant progress was made in transferring state-run enterprises to private ownership.

While carrying out economic reform, the Yeltsin government also faced the challenge of crafting a foreign policy for the new Russia. Yeltsin's initial goal was to build new bridges to the West. In addition to his early effort

Mike Keefe in *The Denver Post*. Reprinted with permission. All rights reserved.



to transform Russia into a free-market, Western-oriented democracy, Yeltsin sought to break decisively with the past by downplaying Russia's interests in the former Soviet Union. Yeltsin recognized the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and pledged to respect the independence of the other former Soviet republics. In the meantime, Russia followed the lead of the West in imposing sanctions on Iraq, a former Soviet ally, after the Persian Gulf War.

As Russia turned toward the West, the full impact of the Soviet Union's disintegration began to be felt. Under the Soviet system, the republics had been linked economically not only to Moscow, but also to each other. Without a framework to sort out economic relations, many of the ties that had held the Soviet economy together unraveled. As a result, trade in Russia and the other FSU states plummeted.

With respect to defense, Russia lost possession of radar stations, air bases, and other key military installations located elsewhere in the FSU. These facilities had been deliberately built in the outlying Soviet republics to protect the heartland of the country from attack. Meanwhile, Russia's borders with its former Soviet neighbors were poorly defended and geographically vulnerable.

Reining in reform

By 1993, the shock waves of reform had opened up deep divisions within the Russian political landscape. On one side of the emerging fault line were the reformers within the Yeltsin government. On the other side were the critics in the Russian parliament who wanted to apply the brakes to reform and give Russian foreign policy a more forceful tone. By July 1993, relations between Yeltsin and his foes in the parliament had reached a crisis.

A confrontation over economic policy led Yeltsin to dissolve parliament in September 1993. The standoff spilled over into the streets of Moscow two weeks later. In the worst political violence since the fall of the Soviet Union,

forces opposed to Yeltsin battled troops loyal to the president for control of the Russian government. The anti-Yeltsin forces made their last stand in the Russian parliament building, not surrendering control until the top floors of the building were in flames and at least 140 people had died.

Although Yeltsin quickly defeated his parliamentary foes, his country's economic performance for 1993 left most Russians fearful. Prices had increased nine times and production had dropped by 12 percent.

Russia's "near abroad"

Even as Russian politics remained unpredictable and fragmented, a new consensus was emerging in Russian foreign policy. By the end of 1992, Russian foreign policymakers were growing increasingly alarmed by their country's dwindling influence within the FSU. They responded by shifting Russia's foreign policy emphasis away from the West and toward the other states of the FSU. A new term — "near abroad" — was coined to describe

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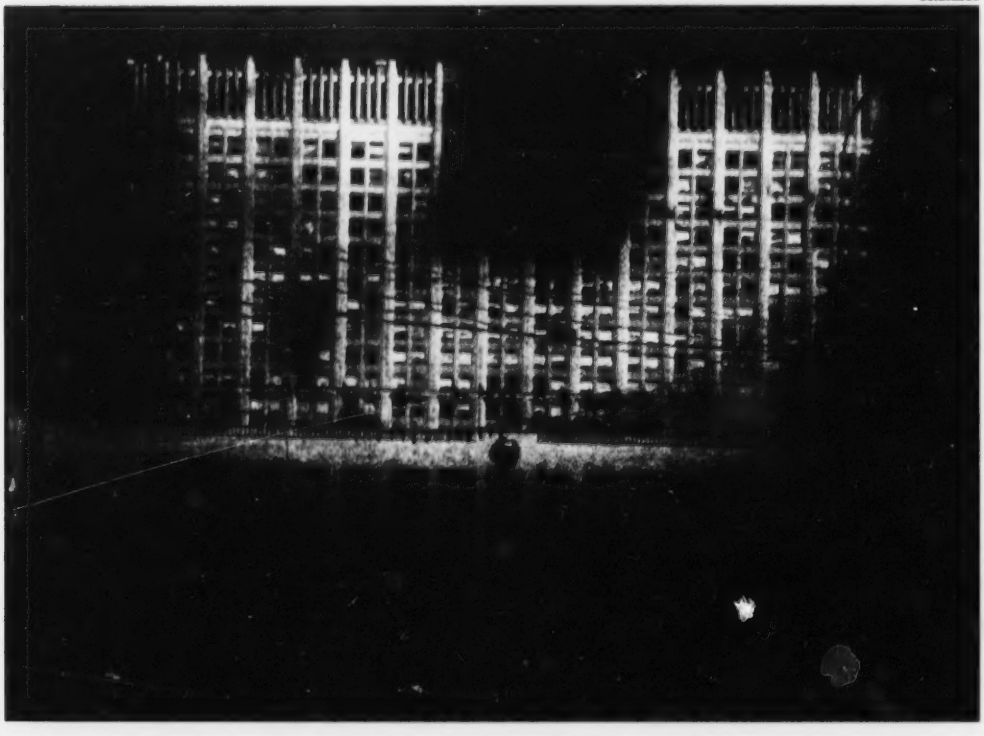

Government tanks fire at anti-Yeltsin forces in the Russian parliament in October 1993.

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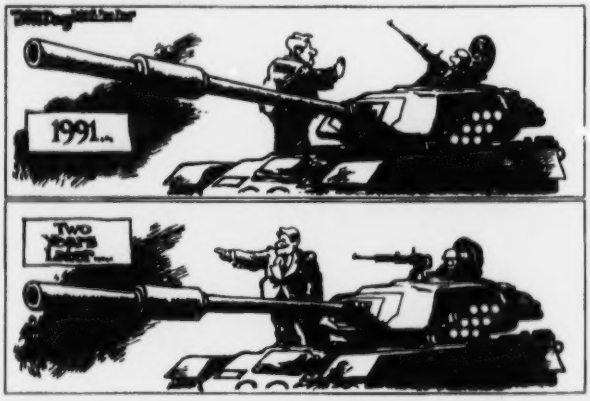
Bill Day in the *Detroit Free Press*. Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services.



Russia's perspective on the other former Soviet republics.

Russian interests in the near abroad were wide-ranging and complex. Issues at the top of the agenda included blocking the spread of nuclear weapons; protecting the nearly 25 million Russians living outside their homeland; restoring vital economic and military links; controlling ethnic conflict; and keeping other powers from extending their influence into the region. Nowhere were Russian concerns focused more intently than on Ukraine, in many respects the birthplace of Russian culture.

Under the Soviets, Ukraine served as the USSR's breadbasket and developed a large industrial base. Of Ukraine's 52 million people, 22 percent of them are ethnically Russian. Ukraine is also home to the third most powerful nuclear arsenal in the world. Economically, almost all of Ukraine's oil and gas supplies, as well as many other vital raw materials, come from Russia. In addition, most of the pipelines that carry Russian oil and gas exports to Western Europe pass through Ukraine.

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russia sought to bring Ukraine securely under its wing, especially in the area of foreign and economic policy. Ukraine, in contrast, tried to break free of Russian domination and assert its independence. By 1993, the two countries were divided over several issues, most notably control of the Soviet navy's Black Sea fleet stationed on Ukraine's Crimean peninsula and Soviet long-range nuclear missiles based in Ukraine. To drive home Ukraine's dependence on Russia, Russian officials temporarily closed the energy pipelines supplying Ukraine.

In July 1994, Ukrainians elected a new president, Leonid Kuchma, who pledged to heal the rift with Russia. Headway has been made toward an agreement that would give Russia the right to lease a key naval base in the Black Sea. Even before Kuchma's election, Ukraine allowed Russia to begin moving nuclear weapons out of its territory for dismantling. Plans call for Ukraine to turn over the last of its nuclear weapons by the end of 1999. In exchange for giving up the nuclear arsenal on its soil, Ukraine received

security guarantees from Russia and a commitment that Russia would provide fuel for its nuclear reactors. U.S. participation in the negotiations on nuclear weapons, particularly a promise of increased U.S. aid to Ukraine, was critical in breaking the deadlock.

In addition to Ukraine, the two states of the near abroad in which Russia has the most at stake were Belarus and Kazakhstan. Both countries are home to substantial Russian communities and have nuclear weapons on their territory.

Fortunately for Russia's policymakers, relations with Belarus and Kazakhstan proceeded smoothly. Belarus generally followed Russia's lead on nuclear weapons, economic coordination, and other issues. Kazakhstan, where nearly 40 percent of the population is Russian, likewise took a cautious path in seeking to avoid ethnic conflict between Russians and Muslim Kazakhs.

Moscow's policies toward Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan were at the

The Former Soviet Union

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center of a broader strategy to define a clear sphere of Russian influence in the former Soviet Union. Moscow pushed for close economic and military relations among the former Soviet states, as it guarded the rights of Russians in the FSU and blocked the entry of ambitious neighbors into the region. To that end, the Commonwealth of Independent States served as an important tool of Russian foreign policy. By 1994, all of the former Soviet countries except Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania had joined the CIS, often due to Russian pressure. Their dependence on Russian energy supplies and pipelines reinforced Moscow's interests.

Russia also took the lead in squelching conflict in Transcaucasia and Central Asia. By the end of 1994, most of the fighting that had erupted on the periphery of the old Soviet Union in the early 1990s had been contained. More than 16,000 Russian troops were in place to keep the peace. In Russia's North Caucasus, however, the Russian army found itself embroiled in a new war to defeat Chechen rebels fighting to secede from Russia.

Democracy tested

The results of the December 1993 parliamentary elections in Russia marked yet another turning point for the country. Russian reformers had hoped that the elections would serve as a clean break with the Soviet past. Instead, the strong showing by critics of economic reform suggested that a majority of Russians were unhappy with change.

Among the thirteen political parties that campaigned for seats in parliament, extreme nationalists known as the Liberal Democrats captured 23 percent of the vote to emerge as the leading party. Russia's Choice, the party most closely identified with economic reform, finished a distant second with 15 percent of the vote, barely outpacing the third-place Communist Party. Other reform parties also fared poorly.

Most worrisome for reformers was the appeal of Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the leader of the ironically named Liberal Democrats. Zhirinovsky based his campaign on stirring up feelings of wounded national pride. Much of his rhetoric — which included threats to reclaim Alaska and blow nuclear radiation toward the Baltic republics — seemed outlandish. Nonetheless, his call for increased arms exports to revive Russian industry and stiff measures to curb crime won popular support. While Zhirinovsky himself is not considered a favorite to win the presidential elections scheduled for 1996, his success in 1993 has encouraged other potential candidates to voice a strongly nationalistic message.

Search for stability

In response to the election results, Yeltsin backtracked on his commitment to shock therapy and took steps to assert Russia's foreign policy interests more vigorously. In January 1994, many of Yeltsin's free-market advisers were replaced with allies of Russia's industrial managers.

Advocates of shock therapy feared that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin would provide lavish subsidies for Russian industries. The result, they warned, would be out-of-control inflation and economic chaos. Chernomyrdin's policies, however, proved moderate. Although he sought to protect key sectors of the Russian economy, such as agriculture, he resisted pressure to dramatically increase government spending. He also backed deep cuts in the defense budget. Inflation in the first half of 1994 slowed to its lowest level since the Soviet Union's collapse.

Chernomyrdin's economic policies suffered their most serious setback in October 1994, when the Russian ruble fluctuated wildly on international currency markets. The ruble lost 22 percent of its value against the U.S. dollar in a single day, then rose 25 percent after the Russian government stepped in to buy its currency. The shakiness of the ruble underlined the instability of Russian fiscal policy. Economists traced the currency crisis to the government's decision in the spring to cover the budget deficit by printing more money. To restore confidence in the ruble, Chernomyrdin presented a tough, anti-inflation budget for 1995.

Chernomyrdin also pushed ahead with the privatization efforts introduced during the period of shock therapy. All but a few vital areas of the economy, such as the defense, energy, and transportation industries, were ultimately targeted for privatization. As the private sector of the economy expanded, the state-controlled economy continued to shrink. Government officials predicted that Russia's gross domestic product would bottom out in 1994 and begin showing signs of improvement in 1995.

Russia's entry into the global economy is expected to help revive the raw materials sector of the Russian economy. Russia's oil and gas reserves, for example, are among the largest in the world. Since 1987, oil production in Russia, once ranked first in the world, has fallen 40 percent.

But while Russia's oil output is now lower than that of Saudi Arabia and the United States, exports have begun to grow and new technology holds promise for the future. Russia's high-tech industries in space research, nuclear technology, machinery, and metals are also competitive in the world market.

SECTION 3

Challenges facing the United States

American attitudes have changed dramatically since the Cold War years. Interest in the old Soviet Union today has slipped well down the national agenda. Russia and its neighbors are no longer seen as a grave threat to the United States. Trade between the former Soviet countries and the United States is comparatively small, while instability and conflict in the region have left many Americans confused and indifferent. Finally, pressing domestic issues, such as health care and crime, have nudged foreign affairs out of the national spotlight.

The end of the Cold War has left behind many unresolved problems, and also has created some new ones. Issues involving nuclear weapons, Russian ambitions abroad, and Russia's integration into the global economy have captured international attention. As both Presidents George Bush and Bill Clinton have emphasized since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russia ranks at the top of U.S. foreign policy concerns.

Challenge #1 — nuclear weapons

The former Soviet nuclear arsenal is the only force on earth, other than our own, capable of virtually destroying humanity. When the Soviet Union fell apart, Russia and its neighbors inherited about 35,000 nuclear warheads and the world's largest stockpile of nuclear bomb materials.

Nuclear arms fall into two categories. Tactical nuclear weapons consist of short-range missiles, artillery shells, and other armaments intended for battlefield use. Strategic nuclear weapons are long-range missiles capable of reaching the United States. Tactical nuclear weapons had been scattered throughout the Soviet Union, but by early 1992 the authorities in Moscow had concentrated all of them in Russia. The strategic nuclear missiles presented a different problem, as most of them could not be easily moved. Eighty-five percent of the missiles were based in Russia, but that still left sizeable forces in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus.

In the months following the Soviet collapse, U.S. and Russian negotiators achieved unprecedented progress in reversing the nuclear arms race. Most significant was an agreement signed in June 1992 that called on each side to cut its strategic nuclear arsenal by more than half. Although arms control has moved forward, U.S. policymakers have recognized that the

disintegration of the Soviet Union has spawned a new set of issues related to nuclear weapons.

New dangers

In August 1994, German authorities arrested two Spaniards and a Colombian suspected of smuggling weapons-grade plutonium out of Russia. The arrests resulted in the seizure of about two-thirds of a pound of plutonium — the largest quantity netted in a suspected smuggling operation since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The incident, along with several other arrests in Germany, Russia, and Turkey in 1994, raised fears worldwide that nuclear materials were leaking out of the FSU.

Russian officials denied that their country was the source of the plutonium, but they did acknowledge that nuclear materials in Russia were dispersed throughout a vast web of military installations, weapons laboratories and assembly factories, research institutes, nuclear power plants, naval fuel depots, nuclear waste storage facilities, and other sites. According to Western estimates, Russia possesses 170 tons of plutonium and 1,000 tons of highly enriched uranium. Less than ten pounds of weapons-grade plutonium is needed to make a small nuclear bomb. An even smaller amount would be sufficient to poison the water supply of a large city and kill thousands of people.

Chip Bok in the Akron Beacon Journal. Reprinted by permission. Creators Syndicate

Officials in the United States and Western Europe believe that non-military installations in the FSU are most likely to be targeted by would-be nuclear smugglers. Security at these facilities is generally laxer than at military installations. Within Russia, criminal gangs are in the best position to gain access to nuclear materials and sell them on the international black market. A few pounds of weapons-grade plutonium can be worth tens of millions of dollars.

The United States and Russia share a common interest in preventing nuclear materials from falling into the wrong hands. In November 1994, the United States airlifted 1,300 pounds of enriched uranium from Kazakhstan to U.S. nuclear facilities. Countries that are seeking to develop their own nuclear weapons, such as Iraq, North Korea, and Iran, are known to be in the market for nuclear materials and expertise from the FSU. Terrorists, criminals, and local warlords are also potential threats. After the arrests in August 1994, President Yeltsin pledged Russian cooperation to stop international nuclear smuggling.

The highly publicized cases of nuclear smuggling in 1994 highlighted a problem that is rooted in the political instability and economic troubles of Russia and its neighbors. While the maintenance and security of nuclear weapons in Russia rank as top priorities, these objectives do not receive the level of funding and support available during the Soviet era. The smaller tactical nuclear weapons pose a particular concern. The safeguards and controls on tactical nuclear weapons are not as strict as those placed on strategic weapons. Tactical weapons would be more vulnerable to seizure by outside forces during a crisis.

Among the roughly 2,000 scientists in the FSU who have the technical knowledge to make nuclear arms, low salaries and difficult living conditions have hurt morale. Under the Soviet system, they were a well-paid and privileged elite within the defense industry. Today, former Soviet nuclear scientists, as well as the government officials who oversee the nuclear program, have more reason to be lured by tempting job offers and bribery from abroad.

Russia's response

Russian leaders in recent months have moved to strengthen their control over the country's nuclear arsenal. Security at nuclear facilities has been beefed up and the authorities have increased efforts to crack down against Russian mafia gangs and their potential clients abroad. Nuclear arms

specialists also have been impressed by the commitment of the scientists and bureaucrats who have protected the former Soviet nuclear arsenal from theft and piracy.

Russia's relations with the three other countries in the FSU that inherited nuclear weapons likewise have received special consideration. Kazakhstan and Belarus pledged early on to give up their nuclear arsenals and comply with the arms control treaty signed by the United States and Russia in 1992. All nuclear weapons in Kazakhstan and Belarus are scheduled to be turned over to Russia for dismantling by the end 1996. Even Ukraine, which clung to its nuclear arsenal as a foreign policy bargaining chip, signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in December 1994 and has begun the transfer of nuclear weapons to Russia.

Russia's attention to nuclear weapons has been driven in part by the more assertive tone of Moscow's foreign policy. Since 1993, Russian officials have stressed the importance of their country's status as a nuclear superpower, particularly as the might of other components of the old Soviet military machine has slipped. The Russian nuclear program has been shielded from the most severe budget cuts.

For Americans, Moscow's renewed emphasis on the place of nuclear weapons in Russia's defense strategy reawakens memories of the Cold War. The United States and Russia have made substantial headway on nuclear issues during the Yeltsin era, but the Russian political mood suggests that future relations could take a turn for the worse. Ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky has gone as far as to say that nuclear weapons might be used by his government.

Finally, related to the issue of nuclear weapons is the fate of the FSU's nuclear power plants. Although experts have questioned the safety of the twenty-nine nuclear reactors in Russia, government officials there have defended nuclear power. They argue that their country cannot afford to switch to other energy sources. Officials in other former Soviet states with nuclear reactors — Armenia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, and Ukraine — share similar attitudes.

In Ukraine, where a nuclear accident at Chernobyl in 1986 forced 130,000 people to evacuate their homes in an area slightly larger than Maryland, nuclear power is seen as an alternative to nearly complete dependence on Russian oil and gas. Ukrainian officials have postponed closing the Chernobyl plant despite their pledge to the United States in April 1994 to shut down the facility.

Challenge #2 — Russian expansion

Since Russia began taking on a larger international role in 1993, especially in the FSU, U.S. policymakers have been split over our country's response. Some view Russia as a force for stability in the troubled region along its southern border and have argued that the United States should respect Russia's place as a great power in the international system. Others believe that the United States must take a firm stand against Russian ambitions abroad and help Russia's neighbors in the FSU stand up to Moscow. They have been especially critical of Russia's bloody campaign to crush secessionist rebels in Chechnya.

The future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) figures prominently on the U.S.-Russian agenda. NATO was created by the United States and its Western European allies to block Soviet aggression in Europe. Without the Cold War, the military alliance's mission is no longer clear. Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and other countries from Central Europe and the FSU have campaigned for full NATO membership. Russian leaders have warned that bringing NATO forces closer to Russia's borders would revive military tension between their country and the West.

In response to the dilemma, President Clinton proposed in 1994 a plan that offers partnership status, rather than full membership, to countries of the former Soviet bloc. The Partnership for Peace program permits cooperation between NATO and partner members, without linking them in a military alliance. Although Central European leaders had hoped for a firmer commitment from NATO, they and many of the former Soviet countries joined the program. Russia, too, pledged to enter the partnership, but only after negotiating a special relationship with NATO.

Whatever its ties to NATO, Russia's enormous military casts a long shadow across Europe. Despite deep cuts in the defense budget, Russia's military boasts almost 2 million soldiers — by far the largest force in Europe. Increasingly, Russian officials have used their military muscle to gain leverage in the international arena. For example, Russia's decision in 1994 to place 1,200 peacekeepers in Bosnia made the point that Moscow's interests cannot be overlooked in settling the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

Russia's near abroad is the arena in which Moscow is most inclined to flex its muscles. In step with the more assertive tone of Russian foreign policy, Moscow has shown that it will intervene in the FSU to control conflicts and protect the rights of Russian minorities. What the Russians want is UN approval for what they consider legitimate peacekeeping missions in the FSU.

Russian leaders argue that the presence of their troops in Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and elsewhere has prevented the spread of fighting in unstable areas. They also view the failure of the West to stop the war in Bosnia as proof that the NATO allies lack the commitment to keep the peace in the near abroad. Meanwhile, Western critics of Moscow's policies contend that peacekeeping efforts are meant to disguise Russia's plans to restore the old Soviet empire. Russia's use of force in Chechnya affirmed for many observers that the military has come to dominate policymaking in Moscow.

Reprinted from *Sovetskaya Rossiya*

Tsar Peter the Great orders recent Russian leaders to be punished: "Beat them — one hundred strokes for the ones who ruined the Russian empire!"

Ukraine may be the most crucial test for Russian intentions, and for U.S. foreign policy. Without control over Ukraine, Russia cannot claim to be an empire. With Ukraine under Russian domination, Moscow would again pose a serious challenge to the West. Although Russian policymakers themselves are divided over many issues, there is a growing consensus that Ukraine should be closely aligned with Russia.

The rising influence of hard-line nationalists in Russia has convinced many Ukrainian politicians that their country's independence is threatened. Protests by Russian nationalists in Crimea or a dispute over the Russian naval presence in the Black Sea could provide the spark that sets off an open

Foreign Aid Options

How foreign aid programs should be implemented is a question usually reserved for specialists. The public, however, has a role to play in defining the broad goals of foreign aid. Below is an outline of aid programs that may be applied to Russia.

1. Humanitarian and food assistance is designed to relieve immediate human suffering by providing food, medical supplies, and other basic goods. U.S. aid to Somalia in 1992-93 was intended largely for this purpose. Under this approach, the U.S. government could buy grain, milk, medicines, and other items from U.S. producers and then provide it either free or at low cost to countries in need.

2. Technical assistance is designed to provide expertise in less developed countries. Although Russia is a well-educated society, in many respects the Russians lack the expertise to create democratic, free-market institutions. Under this approach, the United States could send bankers to help develop a free-market banking system, economists to offer expertise on tax policy, and business executives to advise factory managers on producing for the global market. In addition, Russians could be brought to the United States for specialized training.

3. Aid in demilitarization is designed to assist countries to reduce their military forces. In the case of Russia, these forces include nuclear weapons. Under this approach, the United States could provide aid for disassembling nuclear weapons and safely storing nuclear materials. The United States could also help Russian military industries convert to producing consumer goods and assist in offering job training to former soldiers.

4. Promoting trade and investment is designed to allow cash-poor countries to participate in the world economy. The Russian economy has enormous potential. What Russians lack, however, is the money to pay for the imported high-tech equipment that would allow them to take advantage of their resources. Under this approach , the United States could provide Russia credits to buy American goods. The credits could be given as long-term loans with low interest rates. The United States could also encourage U.S. companies to invest in Russia by giving them tax breaks and sharing the risk of investment.

5. Infrastructure improvements are designed to lay the foundation for developing an advanced industrial society. Although Russia is industrialized, its energy, transportation, and communication infrastructure is largely worn and out-of-date. Under this approach, the United States could aid Russia to rebuild its infrastructure. Modernizing the telephone system or upgrading the country's equipment for electricity transmission are two areas where foreign aid would be especially useful. U.S. companies could expect to play a major role in this process.

conflict. Whatever the source, a clash between Russia and Ukraine would have far-reaching consequences.

The United States has been careful to keep its distance from Russian-Ukrainian relations. In 1992 and 1993, U.S. officials generally took Russia's side in pressing Ukraine to give up the nuclear arsenal on its territory. Since Ukrainian leaders pledged to turn over the weapons, however, U.S. policy has quietly shifted. The United States, for example, has firmly supported Ukraine's position that the Crimea must remain within Ukraine. To demonstrate his support for Ukrainian independence, Clinton promised to increase U.S. aid to Ukraine to a total of $900 million for 1994 and 1995. Clinton's commitment makes Ukraine the fourth-largest recipient of U.S. aid — after Israel, Egypt, and Russia.

Challenge #3 — economic levers

Economic aid and trade policy have been the main tools with which the United States has tried to influence Russia's direction. In 1992, the goals of U.S. policy were well-matched with the Yeltsin government's ambitious program of shock therapy. Proposals for large-scale economic aid programs were advanced in the West. There was even talk of sponsoring the equivalent of the Marshall Plan for Russia and its neighbors.

By 1993, the big-spending foreign aid proposals had faded. The change in attitude was due in part to the Russian experience. Shock therapy had run aground and a more assertive foreign policy was reshaping Russia's relationship with the West. The United States and its allies had also encountered obstacles. The economic recession of the early 1990s left leaders grappling with budget deficits at a time when interest in the FSU was slipping.

On both sides, there was disappointment and frustration. Russian officials claimed that the West had offered little support for economic reform. In 1993, for example, the Group of Seven (G-7) wealthy democracies had pledged to give Russia $28 billion in aid. The U.S. contribution of the G-7 package was set at $4 to $6 billion. In fact, only $8 billion in assistance was delivered that year. (Most of the aid was in the form of export credits to enable Russia to buy Western goods.)

For their part, Western officials maintained that economic assistance would be wasted unless Russia curbed government spending, reduced inflation, and restructured the economy. There was also concern that foreign aid would be channeled toward the military or wind up in the hands of the Russian mafia.

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The success of extreme Russian nationalists in the December 1993 parliamentary elections prompted the United States and its allies to rethink their aid strategy. U.S. officials remained committed to the broad goals of international security, democracy, and free-market economic reform, but many of their earlier expectations were scaled back. They acknowledged that shock therapy had contributed to widespread suffering and had torn at the fabric of Russian society. Above all, the Clinton administration wanted to prevent Russia from plunging into chaos. Russia's transition was seen as a process that would stretch out over decades. Despite a slowdown in economic reform, the Western-led International Monetary Fund in early 1994 approved an additional $1.5 billion in assistance for Russia.

By 1994, the United States had tailored its aid programs to address more narrow problems. Grass-roots projects were designed to help specific companies or individual cities adapt to the free market. Moreover, increasing attention was given to Russia's neighbors in the FSU. Of the $850 million in assistance (about 6 percent of total U.S. foreign aid) earmarked for the FSU, most of it fit into two categories. The first involved training and exchange programs, such as the Peace Corps, that are intended to build person-to-person bridges between the United States and the FSU. Second, American experts provided advice on developing the institutions needed for a free-market economy and a democratic political system. In addition, U.S. agencies supported American companies with trade ties or investments in the FSU.

Meanwhile, a separate program was in place to assist the four nuclear states of the FSU to dismantle nuclear weapons. As a result of its agreement on nuclear weapons with Russia, Ukraine was scheduled to receive $350 million over two years for the dismantling of nuclear warheads. Russia, too, was given aid for dismantling nuclear weapons, but Russian officials turned down U.S. assistance designed to tighten their country's safeguards over nuclear materials. Authorities in charge of Russia's nuclear arsenal have been reluctant to provide their former Cold War enemies access to their facilities.

For their part, Russian officials have increasingly set their sights not on economic aid, but on improving trade relations with the West. Trade across the dividing line of the Cold War had been meager. However, as the old hostility weakened, Russians were hopeful that more open trade relations would help them catch up with the West economically. Trade, in fact, has risen slightly. In 1993, Russia exported $1.7 billion worth of goods to the United States and imported $2.9 billion. The figures, however, represent a tiny fraction of the more than $1 trillion in U.S. trade for 1993.

Meanwhile, Russian officials have complained that trade barriers shut Russian goods out of Western markets. According to Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, Russian industries that are competitive internationally often suffer from trade restrictions dating back to the Cold War. The United States, for example, has imposed quotas and price restrictions against Russian rockets designed to launch satellites into space. American companies in the same business concede that they cannot match the prices of their Russian counterparts.

SECTION 4

Views on U.S. options

Now that you have read about some of the issues related to U.S. policy toward Russia, it is time to take a closer look at what our country's position should be. In this section, you will explore four views on U.S. policy toward Russia. As you will see, each of the views is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs, and is shaped by a well-defined perspective on the threats and opportunities facing the United States.

The views presented address three fundamental questions that frame the discussion on U.S. policy toward Russia:

- **How high should Russia rank on the U.S. public policy agenda?** Should Russia's huge nuclear arsenal, military might, and economic potential compel U.S. decision-makers to view Russia as a top priority? Or should the United States scale back its involvement in the affairs of Russia and those of its neighbors and refocus its public policy priorities now that the Cold War is over?

- **What expectations should guide our country's relationship with Russia?** Should the United States base its policies on the expectation that Russia will eventually become a stable free-market democracy and a reliable ally in international affairs? Or should U.S. decision-makers assume that Russia will ultimately turn away from the West and that our country's interests will inevitably conflict with those of Russia?

- **How should U.S. policy toward Russia's neighbors in the former Soviet bloc be used to influence Russia's direction?** Should the United States seek to contain Russia's power by actively strengthening its ties to Russia's neighbors? Or should the United States stand back and allow Moscow to establish a sphere of influence in the former Soviet bloc?

Each of the four views that follows responds differently to the above questions. You should think of the views as a tool designed to help you examine the contrasting strategies from which Americans must define our country's role in the world and craft future policy.

View 1 — Invest in the future

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian people have struggled to transform their society. The world is now at a historic crossroads. In the next few years, Russia either will establish a firm foundation for nurturing democracy and free-market prosperity or will turn back toward repression, a closed economic system, and hostility toward the outside world. Americans must not shirk their responsibility to the future. Our country has a vital role to play in the transformation of Russia. After spending trillions of dollars on the Cold War, we would be foolish not to earmark a few billion to help keep Russia on the path toward reform.

Considering trade-offs

- Will placing our bets on reform lead Russians to blame the United States for their economic problems and harm our relations with future leaders in Russia?
- Will helping Russia to rebuild its economy end up serving the interests of a future regime dominated by aggressive, anti-Western political forces?
- Will additional aid for Russia wind up in the hands of corrupt politicians and mafia bosses as it increases the U.S. budget deficit?

View 2 — Keep the lid on

The collapse of the Soviet Union has unleashed a new set of problems for the United States and its allies. The problems of Russia are not of our making. Nonetheless, we cannot ignore them. The United States must work to defuse the explosive situation. Above all, we should not be rocking the boat by pushing half-baked reform schemes or meddling in relations among the FSU countries. In assisting Russia through this period of crisis, we should keep in mind our country's primary foreign policy interests. Most important is making sure that Russia's military force and nuclear arsenal do not endanger world peace. To meet our priorities, the United States should promote stability and order. The best we can do is to keep the lid on this vast, simmering country.

CONSIDERING TRADE-OFFS

- Will not lending our full support to Russia at this crucial moment of transition kill momentum toward democratic and free-market reform throughout the region?
- Will pressing the non-Russian states of the FSU to accept Russia's leadership on security issues turn them against the United States and fan regional tensions?
- Will focusing U.S. concern abroad distract us from dealing with social problems here at home and restoring the health of the American economy?

View 3 — Declaw the Russian bear

Although the Soviet Union no longer exists, much of the power of our Cold War enemy remains in the hands of Russia. Since 1992, the voices of authoritarianism and nationalism have grown stronger, both inside and outside of Boris Yeltsin's government. Russia is again showing its teeth, and turning away from the West. Americans must recognize that the Cold War is not over. We must understand that our interests and the interests of Russia will inevitably conflict. Rather than helping Russia renew its economic and military competition with the United States, we should take steps to declaw the Russian bear.

CONSIDERING TRADE-OFFS

- Will taking a hostile stance toward Russia increase international tensions to dangerous levels and torpedo progress on controlling nuclear proliferation?
- Will undermining Russia's economic recovery close the door on the efforts of Russian democrats to steer their country toward reform?
- Will encouraging Russia's neighbors to distance themselves from Moscow further weaken trade links among the FSU countries and worsen economic conditions for all?

View 4 — Mind our own business

For forty years, the Cold War not only dominated U.S. foreign policy, but also took precedence over vital concerns here at home. Now that the Cold War is over, it's time to put our national priorities back in order. Rather than searching for new entanglements overseas, the United States should strive to limit its involvement in the FSU. Humanitarian relief for the cold and hungry is one thing, but we should hardly dump billions of dollars into

experimental economic reform programs or stick our nose into disputes between Russia and its neighbors. Let us turn our attention to revitalizing the United States.

Considering trade-offs

- Will withdrawing from involvement in the FSU today seem shortsighted tomorrow if we must spend tens of billions of dollars more to defend ourselves from a hostile Russia?
- Will the United States find itself left out of future opportunities for trade and investment in Russia?
- Will standing by idly while Russia reasserts its domination over the other states of the FSU feed Russia's expansionist instincts?

Your turn

These views are by no means the only U.S. options. Rather, they are intended to lay out some of the most important values and assumptions underlying the debate on U.S. policy toward Russia and to spur discussion on the direction our country should take regarding this pressing issue. When you meet next time, you will have an opportunity to discuss U.S. policy toward Russia with others. The following statements are designed to help you clarify your thoughts on what is most important to you concerning this issue. Take a few moments to respond. This is a tool for you to get started. It will not be collected.

Rate each of the statements according to your beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ The central foreign policy interests of the United States lie in preserving stability and order around the world.

___ Every country, even one emerging from communism, is capable of transforming itself into a free-market democracy.

___ We should rely less on military force and other conventional foreign policy tools to solve the problems of today's interconnected world.

___ Geography and culture largely determine which countries are enemies of the United States.

___ The greatest threat facing the United States today is that posed by the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

___ Problems in the international arena are far less important for Americans than the challenges we face at home, such as poverty, crime, and budget deficits.

___ The interests of the United States can be maintained only if we resolutely exercise our power and influence in international affairs.

___ The end of the Cold War has made the world a more dangerous place.

___ Meddling in the affairs of other countries is wasteful and dangerous.

Suggested reading

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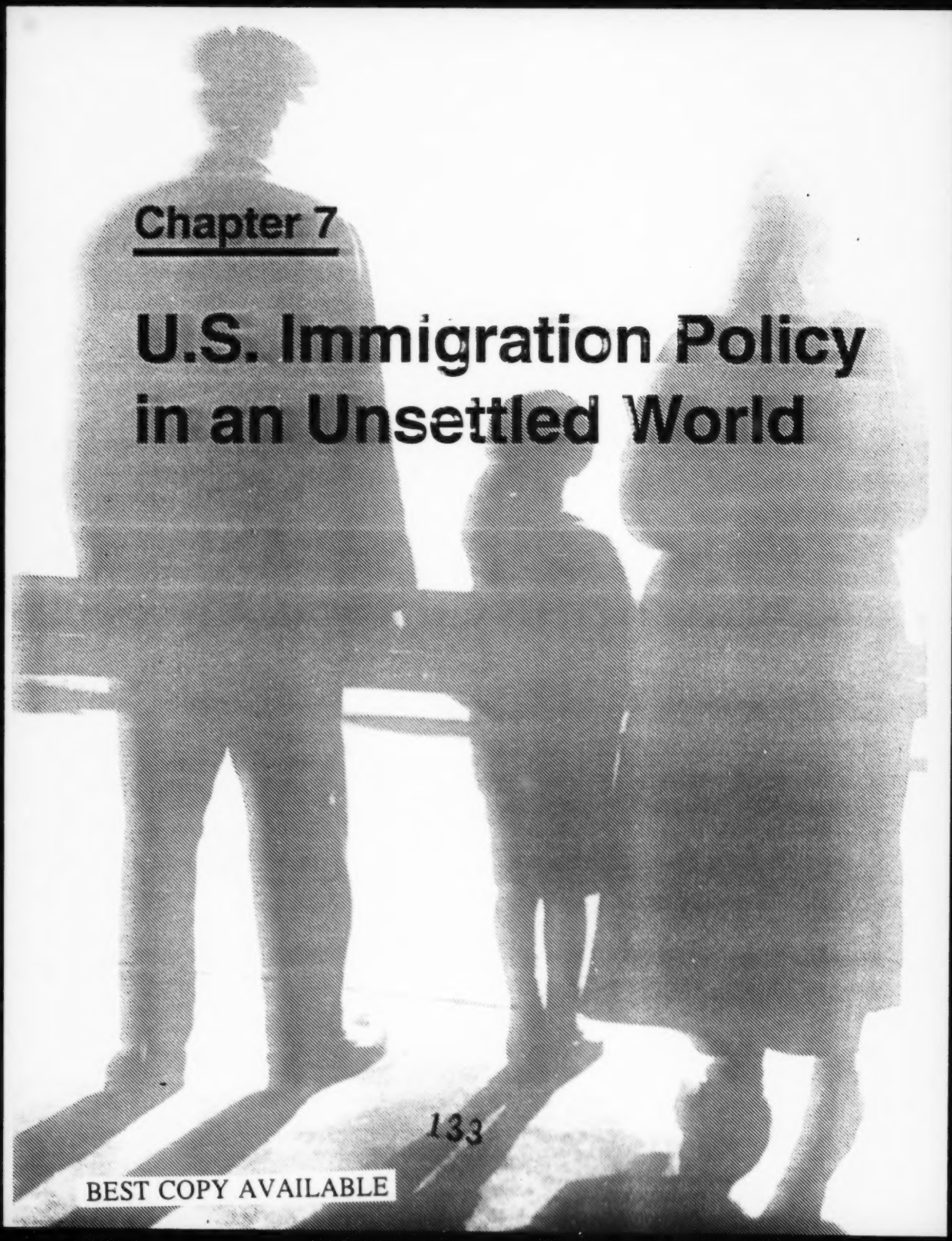

Chapter 7

U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World

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Before 1960, Miami was a quiet town best known for its nearby beaches. The communist revolution in Cuba, however, set off a huge influx of Cubans fleeing persecution by the government of Fidel Castro. In the 1970s, Cubans were joined by newcomers from Haiti. The 1980s brought a surge of Central and South American immigrants. By 1992, 60 percent of Miami residents had been born outside the United States and nearly three-quarters spoke a language other than English at home.

In Miami's *Calle Ocho* district, fruit and vegetable stalls sell black beans, guayabas, plantains, and papayas. Sidewalk vendors serve up *empanadas* and *quesadillas* filled with meat, fish, and cheese. Dominoes is the game of choice at the city park. Signs in Spanish advertise legal services, eye care, hair styling, and political candidates. As a result of the city's transformation, Miami has emerged as an important crossroads in trade between the

Immigration in American History

The nation's early leaders said little about immigration and citizenship in the constitution, other than to make these issues the responsibility of Congress. Before 1820, the United States did not even bother to count how many newcomers reached its shores. For most of the 1800s, a nearly ideal balance existed between the problems of Europe and the needs of the United States. In Europe, the Industrial Revolution, shifts in agriculture, and a soaring population left millions unable to make a living. Meanwhile, the United States expanded in both size and wealth. The turn of the century, however, marked a major change in how immigrants fit into their adopted country. Rather than pushing the American frontier West, they answered the call for cheap, unskilled labor in the industrial cities. By 1900, four out of five New Yorkers either were born abroad or were the children of immigrants.

Restrictions on immigration

From the earliest days of the republic, there was anxiety about the social and political implications of immigration. It was not until the 1840s, however, that the first organized opposition to open immigration emerged. The American Party, better known as the Know-Nothing Party for the secretiveness of its members, claimed that Catholic immigrants, mainly of Irish and German origin, threatened to corrupt the country's heritage. Party members were behind violence to terrorize newcomers.

While the Know-Nothing group faded from the political arena before the Civil War, an anti-immigration movement at the turn of the century revived many of the group's ideas. Labor union organizers feared that abundant cheap labor would undercut their struggle. Political reformers believed that immigrant voters would be manipulated to support corrupt politicians. Consequently, both groups supported the movement. Business leaders, however, opposed the campaign to restrict immigration.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 marked

United States and Latin America. It has also become a hotbed of ethnic tension. Riots have erupted in Miami three times since 1980. The American-born population of the city actually fell by 90,000 in the 1980s.

What Miami represents to Americans brings home the debate over the future of U.S. immigration policy. For some, the city embodies what is best in America. In a few decades, newcomers have made it an international financial center — a gateway to the world poised to compete in the global economy of the 21st century. For others, Miami is a symbol of unmanaged change, where differences in language and culture point to a future of economic conflict and social discord.

As Americans sort out the priorities that will set the tone of U.S. immigration laws, they will have to clarify their vision of America in the 21st century. We will have to weigh the impact of immigration on Miami, Los Angeles, New York, and other major cities that receive the great majority of

the first significant legislation to restrict immigration. In 1921, another restrictive law was passed, creating immigration quotas on the basis of national origin. That concept served as the foundation of the Immigration Act of 1924, commonly known as the National Origins Act.

The National Origins Act proposed to limit the number of immigrants accepted from each country by capping annual immigration of each European nationality at 2 percent of its proportion in the U.S. population in 1890. For groups that had begun immigrating to the United States in large numbers after 1890, such as Italians and Poles, the quotas were relatively small. Moreover, the 1924 act affirmed earlier laws that closed the door to immigration from Asia. From 1924 to 1952, immigration fell to its lowest level since the mid-1800s.

The onset of the Cold War in the late 1940s left its mark on U.S. immigration law. The new international position of the United States became evident in the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which provided for the admission of more than 400,000 refugees from World War II. A number of special bills designed to accommodate "escapees" from communist domination followed in the 1950s and 1960s.

1965 opens a new era

The civil rights movement forced lawmakers to re-examine the national origins quotas and adopt a historic immigration reform bill. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 replaced the old quotas with seven preference categories that gave priority to reuniting families and attracting skilled professionals. The act attracted unprecedented numbers of Asian doctors, engineers, scientists, and other university-trained specialists. It also allowed immigrants with citizenship status to sponsor the immigration of their spouses, children, and siblings. By the 1970s, immigrants were entering the United States in the largest numbers in half a century.

our country's newcomers. As a nation, can we afford to continue absorbing immigrants at the current record rate? Conversely, can we afford to close our doors to their talents and skills? And what of the social impact? Do high rates of immigration tear at the cultural fabric of our society by aggravating ethnic, racial, and religious divisions? Or does the continued vibrancy of our nation of immigrants in fact depend on the new cultures and perspectives that newcomers bring with them?

As we consider this issue, we must recognize that the debate over immigration policy has expanded to incorporate a broad range of foreign policy issues. The current discussion touches on U.S. relations with Latin America, human rights, international trade, and the worldwide refugee crisis. This chapter will help prepare you to consider these issues.

SECTION 1

Assessing the impact of immigration

Economic concerns typically dominate the immigration debate. For most of this century, business leaders and big farmers have tended to favor open immigration policies to ensure an adequate supply of workers. Although opportunities for unskilled factory workers have declined since World War II, other businesses, such as hotels and restaurants, continue to depend on low-wage labor.

Supporters of open immigration policies also note that many high-tech industries have come to rely on newcomers. About one-quarter of immigrant workers are college graduates. Many have degrees in engineering, computer science, chemistry, and other fields that are in demand. Moreover, immigrants often retain connections to potential export markets. Immigrants from East Asia, for example, have contributed substantially to U.S. trade with the vibrant economies of that region. Furthermore, during the past two decades, immigrants have helped revive downtown business districts of the biggest U.S. cities. Many immigrants have opened up small businesses, created new jobs, and strengthened the local tax base.

Historically, opposition to open immigration laws has come from labor union leaders who claim that high levels of immigration have taken away jobs from native-born Americans. They also maintain that the flow of unskilled workers into the economy holds down wages at the bottom of the employment ladder. Other critics argue that U.S. immigration policy drains

poor countries of their most highly educated professionals. Officials in some poor countries have even made the case that they should be compensated by the United States for the highly skilled emigrants that leave their nations.

Social services

In addition to weighing economic advantages and disadvantages, the immigration debate involves measuring the cost of newcomers in terms of education, health care, welfare, and other social services. Although studies indicate that immigrants are not much more likely to receive welfare than the general population, many often need special help during the first few years after their arrival. This has placed a substantial burden on a few regions. In 1991, for example, six states — California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey — received 77 percent of all immigrants. California was the destination of 35 percent of immigrants during the 1980s. According to California Governor Pete Wilson, the latest wave of immigrants drains more resources from the state than it contributes. Wilson attributes

Immigration by Area of Intended Residence, 1990

Each dot represents the location of a zip code with fifty or more immigrants. This map does not include data on immigrants granted amnesty under the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act.

California's budget deficit in part to the cost of education, health care, and welfare for immigrants. Similar expenses have strained other areas as well. In Seattle, for example, 21 percent of the city's students come from homes where English is not the family's native language.

Population trends

The concentration of immigrants in a handful of states has also raised questions about the relationship between immigration policy and population trends. In California, for example, the state's population grew 20 percent during the 1980s. Immigrants accounted for more than one-quarter of that increase. Like other countries in the developed world, the United States has experienced a drop in birth rates for most of this century. If immigration were closed off entirely, the U.S. population would actually begin falling around the year 2020. At current levels of immigration, however, the population is expected to reach about 350 million by the year 2050 — an increase of almost 100 million people.

SECTION 2

The challenge of immigration reform

Immigration to the United States is currently at record levels. The 9.5 million newcomers who came in the 1980s surpassed the previous peak decade of U.S. immigration, from 1901 to 1910. In 1993, roughly 1.2 million immigrants arrived in the United States. Of that total, 733,000 were relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent residents, 147,000 were skilled workers and their families, and 127,000 were refugees and asylum seekers. In addition, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) estimated that 200,000 illegal aliens settled in the country. (Many sources calculate the figure to be 200,000-300,000.) Since the mid-1970s, the United States has accepted more immigrants than the rest of the world's countries combined.

The current wave of new arrivals is the most highly educated group of immigrants in U.S. history. In the 1980s alone, 1.5 million college-educated newcomers joined the work force. Immigration patterns in recent decades have also brought the United States greater ethnic diversity. Between 1971 and 1991, more than 35 percent of legal immigrants came from Asia, while almost half arrived from Latin America, including 24 percent from Mexico. Fewer than 14 percent emigrated from Europe.

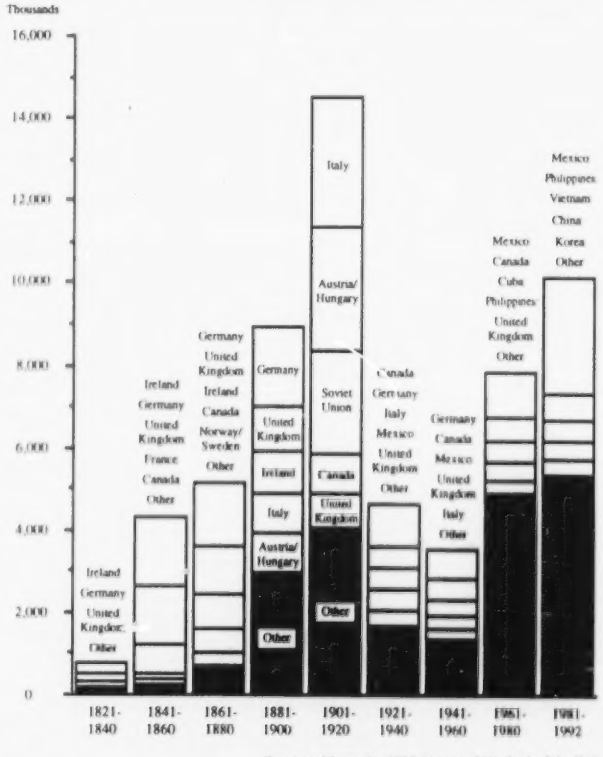
Changes in immigration law

The upsurge in immigration that began two decades ago follows a lull of nearly half a century. Much of the initial impetus is attributable to the landmark Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. In addition, three major pieces of immigration legislation were enacted from 1980 to 1990.

The Refugee Act of 1980 was prompted in large part by the arrival of more than 400,000 refugees from Southeast Asia between 1975 and 1980. The legislation sought to give refugee policy greater consistency by allowing for both a regular flow of refugees and emergency admissions. In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act tackled the issue of illegal immigration. In addition to imposing penalties on employers who hired undocumented workers, the act allowed illegal aliens and undocumented agricultural workers who had lived in the United States since 1981 to become citizens. Under this amnesty program, more than 2.8 million illegal aliens received legal status. The 1986 act, however, failed to cut off the flow of illegal aliens into the economy. On the contrary, illegal aliens in many areas have had little difficulty obtaining false documents to qualify for jobs.

In 1990, Congress addressed the question of general immigration law for the first time since 1965. The Immigration Act of 1990 raised the limit on annual admissions to 675,000 immigrants. (The 1965 act had set the ceiling at 290,000.) The 1990 law also nearly tripled the number of immigration slots reserved for newcomers with prized job skills and their families. When the revision takes full effect in

Immigrants Admitted from Top Five Countries of Last Residence, 1821-1992



Reprinted from the 1992 *Statistical Yearbook of the INS*

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1995, over 71 percent of immigration visas will go to family members of U.S. citizens and legal residents; about 21 percent will be set aside for well-trained workers and their families; and about 8 percent will be available for immigrants from countries that have received relatively few visas in previous years.

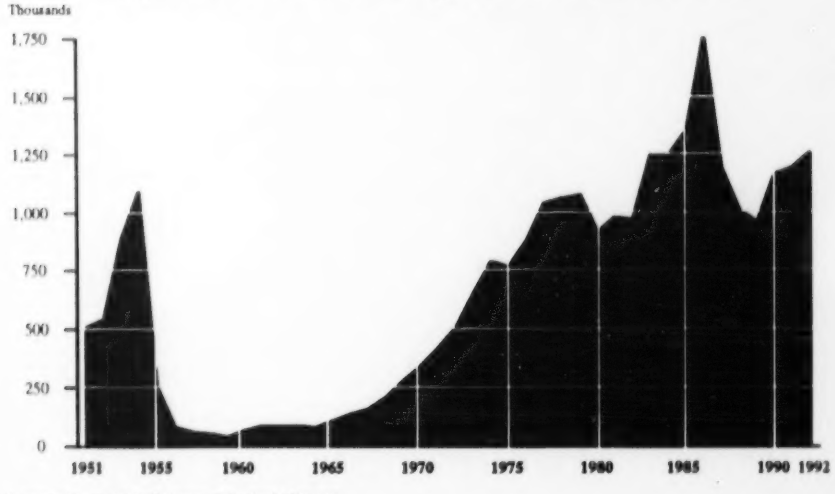
Illegal immigration gains attention

In recent years, the issue of illegal aliens (or undocumented immigrants) has assumed center stage in the U.S. immigration debate. Of the more than 200,000 illegal aliens who settle permanently in the United States each year, many arrive legally as tourists and then stay beyond the limitations of their visas. Others use false documents. Public attention, however, has focused largely on those who enter the country by crossing the U.S.-Mexican border. In 1972, the INS caught about 500,000 illegal aliens crossing the border. That figure had increased to nearly 1.8 million by 1986.

Illegal aliens and border control are relatively new concepts in the history of U.S. immigration. There was not even an attempt to monitor the borders until 1924. Until 1968, there were no official limits on immigration from countries in the Western Hemisphere.

Mexican workers, in particular, were a critical part of the labor force in

Apprehensions of Illegal Aliens, 1951-92



Reprinted from the 1992 *Statistical Yearbook of the INS*.

the Southwest. They generally worked in agriculture during the growing season and then returned to their homes in Mexico. In 1942, the *bracero* program gave this arrangement official status, permitting the entry of 4 million to 5 million temporary agricultural workers. Even after the *bracero* program ended in 1964, large farms and low-wage industries continued to rely on Mexican workers. Meanwhile, Mexico's high rate of unemployment and wage levels that were one-tenth of American standards pushed more laborers across the border.

The composition of the illegal alien population has changed markedly in the last two decades. More women and children are entering the country illegally and fewer than one-quarter work in agriculture. In addition, Mexicans make up a smaller proportion of illegal aliens than in the past. Increasingly, illegal aliens are arriving from Central America, the Caribbean, and East Asia. In 1992, for example, the Border Patrol apprehended would-be immigrants from 164 countries.

The increase in illegal immigration has prompted new approaches to border control. Additional agents have been assigned to the INS's Border Patrol, raising the total force to about 3,500. Border Patrol officials have also experimented with new strategies for stopping illegal aliens. Most noteworthy has been El Paso's "Operation Blockade," which has concentrated on preventing undocumented immigrants from crossing the border rather than chasing them down after they have entered U.S. territory. In 1994, the program resulted in a 72 percent drop in apprehensions in El Paso and was adopted in other heavily travelled border areas, such as Southern California. Nonetheless, the Border Patrol's task remains daunting. Outside of a handful of border cities, the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexican frontier is marked either by the shallow Rio Grande or three strands of barbed wire.

Advocates of more stringent border control argue that the increased strength of the Border Patrol is crucial for national security. They point to studies showing that the U.S.-Mexican border is becoming a crossroads for drug smuggling, and they fear that international terrorists may use the same route. The cost of providing social services to illegal aliens is also part of the border control debate. Although nearly 3 million illegal aliens were legalized by the 1986 act, studies indicate that an additional 3 million to 4 million illegal aliens now live in the United States. Like immigrants in general, illegal aliens are concentrated in a few states, primarily California, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and New York. In 1983, the Supreme Court ruled that states must provide illegal aliens with schooling. That decision, along with the

Courtesy of FAIR.

The U.S.-Mexican border near San Diego.

growing proportion of women and children among the illegal alien population, has added to the education and health care budgets of several states.

The same states that are burdened by the cost of social services for illegal aliens, however, also reap the rewards of their efforts. Whether stitching pants in a clothing factory, washing dishes in a restaurant, or harvesting fruits and vegetables, illegal aliens are a crucial element of the work force in many areas. Critics of the practice maintain that some employers hire undocumented workers because they are unlikely to complain about low pay and poor working conditions.

Public concern over illegal immigration accounted for the passage of Proposition 187 by California voters in 1994. The ballot initiative would deny illegal aliens in California schooling, welfare, non-emergency health care, and other social services, and would require administrators of government programs to report suspected illegal aliens to the INS. Opponents of Proposition 187, including President Bill Clinton, argue that the initiative is unconstitutional and would penalize the children of illegal immigrants most heavily. In addition, Mexican-American leaders complain that the implementation of the proposition would heighten discrimination toward members of their ethnic group. Legal challenges to the constitutionality of Proposition 187 are likely to keep the issue tied up in the courts for several years.

The passage of Proposition 187 also has had foreign policy repercussions. Mexican leaders warn that sealing off the border would revive anti-American feelings and hurt economic relations with the United States' third leading trading partner. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) linking the economies of the United States, Mexico, and Canada adds a new dimension to the issue of illegal immigration. The agreement creates a regional trading bloc of 380 million people by lowering trade barriers among

the three countries. Mexican officials and free trade advocates in the United States contend that by creating better-paying jobs in Mexico, the agreement will reduce the flow of undocumented immigrants. However, some experts on illegal immigration go further. They argue that by increasing foreign aid to Mexico and other Latin American countries, and by encouraging low-wage American industries to invest in the region, the United States can help generate more local jobs that will keep potential illegal aliens at home.

Refugees in the foreign policy arena

In addition to illegal immigration, the issue of refugee policy has acquired greater prominence in the immigration debate in recent years. The 1980 Refugee Act opened the United States to more refugees. To conform to United Nations (UN) standards, it also changed the definition of refugee to a person "unwilling or unable to return to such a country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion."

U.S. refugee laws during the Cold War were primarily an instrument of foreign policy, with preference going to refugees escaping from communist countries. During the 1980s, however, a worldwide refugee crisis challenged old assumptions. The internationally recognized refugee population nearly doubled to 16 million, largely due to war and famine in the developing world, and refugee applications to the United States shot up by twenty times.

U.S. policy, however, was slow to change. Of the more than 1.2 million refugees admitted from 1981 to 1991, 94 percent came from communist nations. Even with the end of the Cold War, old foreign policy priorities have continued to define refugee admissions. Of the 127,000 refugees and asylees accepted in 1993, 52,000 traced their origins to East Asia (mostly to China and Vietnam) and 50,000 came from the former Soviet Union.

Critics of U.S. refugee policy are sharply divided among themselves. Some charge that the United States has lost sight of humanitarian considerations in awarding immigration visas. They want refugee and asylum applicants to be evaluated in strict accordance with UN standards, regardless of the political significance of their countries of origin. Others assert that many of the 127,000 people admitted as refugees and asylum seekers in 1993 were not fleeing persecution but simply looking for a better life. They favor lowering the overall ceiling for refugees.

Recent events have put refugee policy in the spotlight. In 1994 alone,

Rob Rogers. Reprinted by permission of UPS, Inc.

"boat people" from Haiti and Cuba dominated the headlines for much of the summer and rose to the top of the U.S. foreign policy agenda.

The Haitian case has been particularly illustrative of the connection between refugee policy and international relations. In September 1994, 20,000 American troops went ashore in Haiti to spearhead an international mission to restore democratic government on the Caribbean island. Although the current round of U.S. involvement in Haiti had begun when a military coup in September 1991 overthrew Haiti's democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, pressure for American action was largely driven by the refugee crisis that followed the coup.

Beginning in the spring of 1992, thousands of Haitians set sail for American shores after the United States imposed an economic embargo on Haiti to force the coup leaders from power. Some were granted refugee status under the administration of President George Bush, but the majority were returned to Haiti or were turned back by the U.S. Coast Guard. President Clinton also tried to discourage Haitian boat people. When thousands of them began heading for the United States in 1994, he established tent camps for the would-be refugees at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. By the time American troops entered Haiti, 14,000 Haitians had been placed at the camp

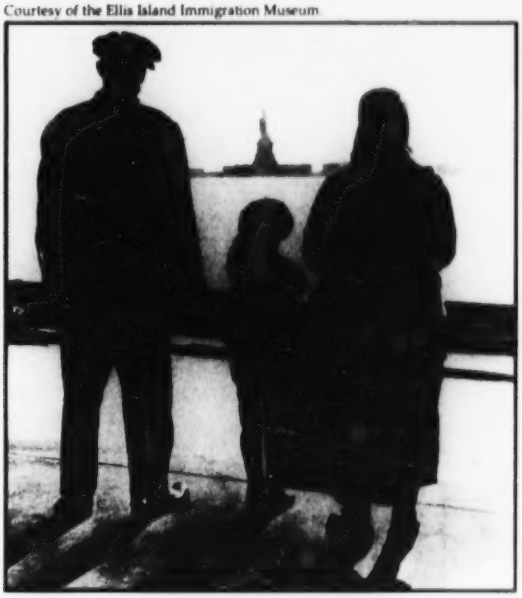
Even as the events in Haiti unfolded, the United States was grappling with an influx of thousands of Cuban boat people. The backdrop of the Cuban crisis was very different from developments in Haiti. Since Fidel Castro's first steps toward establishing a communist dictatorship in Cuba in 1959, the United States had readily accepted Cubans seeking refuge. That policy was tested in April 1980, when Castro announced that Cubans wishing to emigrate could leave if they sailed directly to the United States from Cuba's Mariel Harbor. In the course of five months, about 125,000 "Marielitos" arrived in the United States. Among the refugees were hundreds of criminals released from Cuban prisons.

U.S. officials feared a repeat of the 1980 exodus when Cuban authorities suddenly lifted restrictions on emigration in the summer of 1994. Tens of thousands of Cubans headed out to sea on flimsy vessels or even inner tubes. Unlike 1980, however, the United States removed the welcome mat, denying the boat people automatic entry after mid-August. Instead, the United States negotiated with Cuban officials — something U.S. leaders had long avoided — and worked out an agreement to normalize Cuban immigration to the United States. Under the accord reached in September 1994, the United States pledged to accept 20,000 Cuban immigrants annually in exchange for a commitment by the Cuban government to block illegal immigration.

Bettmann

Cuban refugees rowing toward the Florida coast in August 1994.

Courtesy of the Ellis Island Immigration Museum



Turn-of-the-century immigrants approach New York.

The shift toward Cuba removed an obvious area of contradiction in U.S. refugee policy. Critics had long charged that Cuban refugees received preferential treatment because they were fleeing a communist country. The U.S. policy of turning back Haitian boat people also sparked accusations of racism. Haitian President Aristide, for example, claimed in April 1994 that the United States was discriminating against his countrymen because they were black. Although U.S. officials have strongly rejected charges of racism, they have voiced concerns about attracting a flood of would-be immigrants from throughout the Caribbean Basin.

Doors closing abroad

The United States is not alone among developed countries wrestling with refugee problems. In Europe, the collapse of communism and the outbreak of civil wars in the former Soviet bloc have triggered a flow of refugees westward. Germany was on the front line of the crisis. From 1989 to 1992, Germany took in nearly 900,000 asylum seekers. In the summer of 1993, however, Germany tightened its definition of political asylum and began deporting foreigners who did not meet the new standards.

Other European countries quickly followed Germany's lead. France's interior minister went so far as to declare that France should move "toward zero immigration." Member states of the fifteen-nation European Union are considering the adoption of a single immigration policy for the entire trade bloc.

In Canada too, officials have taken measures to tighten immigration rules. In 1995, Canada plans to admit 190,000 to 215,000 immigrants, compared to 230,000 in 1994. Reforms in Canadian immigration laws will also place greater emphasis on selecting immigrants with the skills and wealth to contribute to the Canadian economy. At the same time, the number of refugees to be accepted will increase from 18,000 in 1994 to between 24,000 and 32,000 in 1995.

SECTION 3

Views on U.S. options

Now that you have read about some of the issues related to U.S. immigration policy, it is time to take a closer look at what our country's position should be. In this section, you will explore four views on U.S. immigration policy. As you will see, each of the views is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs, and is shaped by a well-defined perspective on the threats and opportunities facing the United States.

The views presented address three fundamental questions that frame the discussion on U.S. immigration policy:

- **What image of our country should U.S. immigration policy project to the rest of the world?** Should we be seen as a country that welcomes change and has the capacity to absorb new people into a growing economy? Or should we let the world know that the United States has recognized its limits and must concentrate on putting its own house in order?
- **What should be the overall purpose of U.S. immigration policy?** Should our policy be driven by humanitarian concerns, such as reunifying families, responding to political persecution, and providing opportunity for people beyond our shores? Or should our policy be crafted to match U.S. economic needs by offering immigration visas mainly to well-educated and highly skilled applicants?
- **How should we enforce U.S. immigration policy?** Should we tighten control of our borders and take stronger steps to deport illegal aliens? Or should we avoid measures that may infringe on civil liberties or offend minority communities?

Each of the four views that follows responds differently to the above questions. You should think of the views as a tool designed to help you examine the contrasting strategies from which Americans must define our country's role in the world and craft future policy.

View 1 — Opening ourselves to the world

Americans can take pride in a heritage that springs from a set of principles promoting openness, tolerance, and diversity. Immigration is critical to America's vitality. Our national ethos fits the world that is emerging, where barriers to international understanding are falling, borders have less significance, and a new era of global interaction is dawning. Immigration

puts our country in touch with the preferences and tastes of consumers worldwide, and gives U.S. companies an edge in opening export markets. Keeping our doors open lets the world know that the United States remains a country that looks forward to tomorrow.

CONSIDERING TRADE-OFFS

- Will continuing to open our doors to millions of mostly unskilled immigrants overtax our social service system and aggravate the problems of Americans at the bottom of the economic ladder?
- Will high levels of immigration push U.S. population past tolerable limits and inflict still more harm on our country's environment?
- Will the influx of large numbers of immigrants eventually overwhelm American culture and contribute to the fragmentation of our society?

View 2 — Balancing our responsibilities

To remain responsible citizens in today's changing world, we need a new approach to immigration. A two-pronged approach makes the most sense. By improving life among our neighbors, we can get a grip on the forces that drive desperate immigrants toward our country's shores. Consistent, humane standards for granting political asylum to refugees should be established. In addition, if we are to effectively join other developed countries in addressing the problems that plague much of the developing world (such as environmental pollution, unsanitary living conditions, and the spread of disease), we must restore the health of our own society. The money we currently spend on settling immigrants should be directed domestically toward our own disadvantaged citizens and internationally in the form of foreign aid programs that promote responsible, long-term development in Mexico, the Caribbean, and other poor areas.

CONSIDERING TRADE-OFFS

- Will new foreign aid programs fail to overcome the deep-seated problems in much of Latin America and the Caribbean, while they contribute to the U.S. budget deficit?
- Will closing our own doors to immigrants increase international tension, rather than improve global harmony?
- Will establishing a more open policy toward refugees encourage millions of desperate people to try to enter the United States?

View 3 — Competing in a competitive world

Although the Cold War is over, competition among nations has grown only more intense. We are still a growing country, with enormous resources and human potential, but we have let our competitive edge slip away in the past few decades. Our country requires an immigration policy that fits our overall economic needs. To spur American high-tech industries forward, our doors should be open to scientists and engineers from abroad. To help American factories, farms, and service industries hold down costs, we should allow a limited number of foreigners to work temporarily in low-wage jobs. By forging ahead with realistic choices, we can make our immigration policy work for us.

Considering trade-offs

- Will drawing the best and brightest skilled workers from poor countries undercut economic development in much of the world ar d damage U.S. foreign relations, especially with our neighbors to the south?
- Will reducing the number of immigration visas available for family reunification leave many close relatives apart?
- Will admitting foreigners as temporary workers create a group of second-class citizens with few rights and little stake in American society?

View 4 — Recognizing our limits

The world is changing at a breakneck pace. The population explosion in poor countries, the spread of war and chaos, and the age-old curses of hunger and disease plague an ever-growing portion of humanity. We must recognize that Americans can do little to end the misery that haunts much of the world. Simply maintaining our way of life amounts to a major challenge. Although the United States is a nation of immigrants, the arguments supporting massive immigration have long since passed into history. Now it is time to say enough. We should drastically reduce the number of immigrants we accept and commit the resources necessary to take control of our borders.

Considering trade-offs

- Will closing the door on new immigrants deprive the American work force of skills, talent, and ambition, and create a society that lacks a solid understanding of the world beyond our borders?
- Will efforts to crack down against illegal aliens make foreign-born

Americans a target of suspicion and discrimination?

• Will fencing off our neighbors to the south spark anti-American feelings in Latin America and the Caribbean, and harm relations with many of our leading trading partners?

Your turn

These views are by no means the only U.S. options. Rather, they are intended to lay out some of the most important values and assumptions underlying the debate on U.S. immigration policy and to spur discussion on the direction our country should take regarding this pressing issue. When you meet next time, you will have an opportunity to discuss U.S. immigration policy with others. The following statements are designed to help you clarify your thoughts on what is most important to you concerning this issue. Take a few moments to respond. This is a tool for you to get started. It will not be collected.

Immigration to the U.S. in 1993

Relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent residents	733,000
Skilled workers and their families	147,000
Refugees	115,000
Asylees	12,000
Illegal aliens (estimate)	200,000
Total	1,207,000

Rate each of the statements according to your beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ International stability and order should be protected because they are vital to the interests of the United States.

___ As the most powerful nation in the world, the United States has a responsibility to address human suffering wherever it occurs.

___ Americans will face a struggle in the coming decades just to maintain their present lifestyle.

___ The United States must remain a symbol of hope and opportunity for the people of the world.

___ The United States should oppose countries that grossly abuse the human rights of their citizens.

___ Problems in the international arena are far less important for Americans than the challenges we face at home, such as poverty, crime, and budget deficits.

___ The United States should recognize that problems in the developing world, such as poverty and environmental degradation, must be addressed as problems that affect everyone on the planet.

___ In the end, U.S. foreign policy should be based on a realistic assessment of our national interest, not on idealistic plans for saving the world.

___ The greatness of the United States is based on its diversity and openness to fresh ideas.

___ The problems affecting most poor countries are only going to get worse, regardless of U.S. foreign aid programs.

Suggested reading

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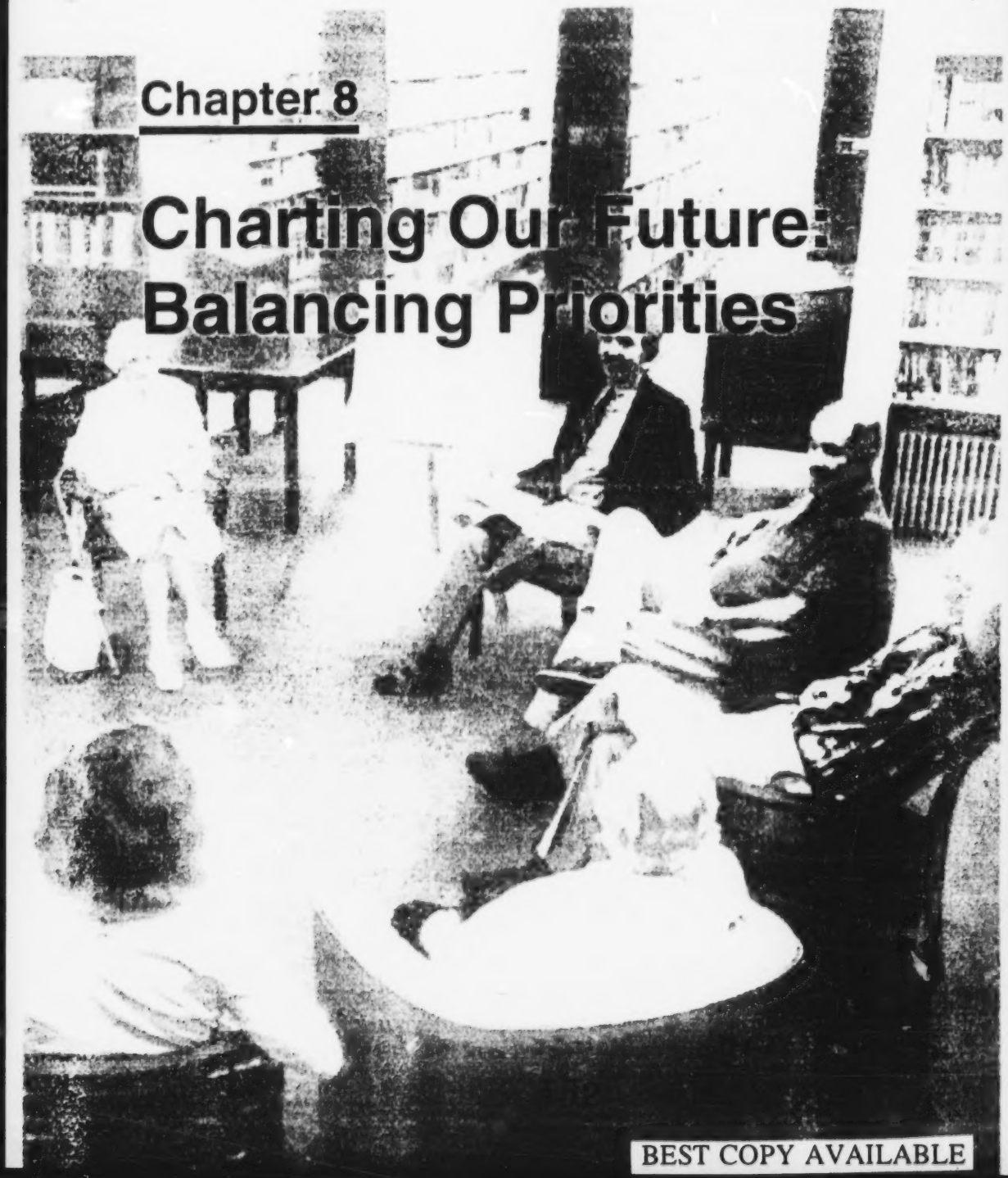

Chapter 8

Charting Our Future: Balancing Priorities

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The 1994 mid-term elections marked a sea change in American politics. For the first time in forty years, the Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress. Outside of Washington, they captured a majority of statehouses. Not since Franklin D. Roosevelt ushered in the New Deal in the 1932 elections had there been such a momentous political shift in the United States. Political pundits will be mulling over the reasons behind the Republicans' success at least until the 1996 elections. Many theories have already been offered, but all share a common understanding that Americans were voting for change in November 1994.

We are passing through a volatile time in American history. Seldom has the American electorate been filled with such deep-seated anxiety. The causes are readily apparent. The U.S. economy has undergone a profound transformation in the past two decades, due mainly to the escalating pace of technological innovation and the boom in international trade. As Americans went to the polls in 1994, the country's economy was experiencing a healthy expansion, and yet a feeling of economic insecurity continued to grip the public. A majority of Americans believe that members of the coming generation will be worse off than their parents. On the international scene, events of recent years likewise have been jarring. With the end of the Cold War, the clear directional lines that guided American foreign policy for the last forty years are gone. The nation is adrift in a sea of competing new challenges with no clear policy to determine course.

In the coming years, Americans are going to face tough political choices. Both at the domestic level and in foreign policy, we will have to balance limited resources against a broad array of competing demands. As citizens, we will increasingly be forced to analyze and evaluate policy trade-offs. Our response to the challenges before us will determine in large part the fate of our nation in the next century.

In this final chapter, you will consider many of the questions that will define our country's role in the world in the coming years. As earlier chapters have illustrated, the post-Cold War world is messy. Virtually every week brings a new crisis. U.S. policy lacks the overarching strategy that guided the struggle against Soviet communism. Instead, the post-Cold War years have been characterized by vacillation and contention. In addition, today's international agenda is crowded with topics — global warming, AIDS, nuclear smuggling — that were largely unknown just a decade ago and do not lend themselves to conventional solutions. But for all this, the post-Cold

War era is also a time of opportunity. The end of the Cold War has brought remarkable breakthroughs in international relations. The United Nations has been revitalized. South Africa has cleared the first hurdles toward forging a multiracial democracy. International conferences on global environmental problems, population and development, and world trade have generated new momentum for international cooperation.

Your responsibility is to think about how the United States should fit into the world that is emerging. At the concluding session of this series, you will have an opportunity to develop your own preferred Future. Your Future should not be a utopian blueprint, but a broad sketch of the direction that you believe the nation should head in the coming years. This is your Future, and as such it should represent your vision for our country's role in the world. The Future you propose should be possible if we have the will as a nation. Because in a democracy it is the citizens together that define that will, you need not be constrained by what is politically viable today.

The following pages call on you to clarify the beliefs and sort out the priorities that will serve as the foundation for your Future.

SECTION 1

Focusing your thoughts

The statements in this section are designed to help you focus your thoughts about the issues facing us at this turning point in our history. Take a few moments to respond. This is a tool to help you get started. It will not be collected.

Rate each of the statements according to your beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ Meddling in the affairs of other countries is wasteful and dangerous.

___ The United States should recognize that problems in the developing world, such as poverty and environmental degradation, must be addressed as problems that affect everyone on the planet.

___ U.S foreign policy should be directed toward promoting American values in other countries.

___ International stability and order should be protected because they are vital to the interests of the United States.

___ We should rely less on military force and other conventional foreign policy tools to solve the problems of today's interconnected world.

___ Questions of morality should not determine our relations with other countries.

___ The interests of the United States can be maintained only if we resolutely exercise our power and influence in international affairs.

___ As Americans, we have the right and the responsibility to spread democracy around the world.

___ Problems in the international arena are far less important for Americans than the challenges we face at home, such as poverty, crime, and budget deficits.

___ The United States should be willing to give up some of its own sovereignty to promote international cooperation.

___ The United States cannot afford to give other nations a say in policies by which Americans must live.

___ The United States should oppose countries that grossly abuse the human rights of their citizens.

SECTION 2

Weighing risks and trade-offs

Beliefs come with trade-offs. We may, for example, believe in peace, but we also must ask ourselves what we are willing to do in the name of peace. Are we willing to turn a blind eye to egregious violations of human rights to avoid international confrontations? Are we willing to grant the United Nation new powers to slap down potential aggressors at the expense of our own sovereignty? Are we willing to scale back research on high-tech weaponry in hopes that other countries might follow a similar course?

Weighing risks and trade-offs is central to the formulation of public policy. The following section repeats each of the beliefs in Section 1, but adds to them a list of possible implications. As you reflect on the issues raised in this section, compare your responses to those you gave in Section 1. Feel free

to revise your ratings based on your reflections. Your responses in Section 1 will provide a useful tool for you as you develop your own Future during the final session of this series.

Meddling in the affairs of other countries is wasteful and dangerous.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- shutting down U.S. foreign aid programs will increase human suffering in poor countries?
- nations hostile to our interests will fill the vacuum in the developing world left by the United States?
- progress toward democracy and economic reform in the former Soviet bloc will be reversed when U.S. programs end?

The United States should recognize that problems in the developing world, such as poverty and environmental degradation, must be addressed as problems that affect everyone on the planet.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- the United States will be expected to provide large sums of money to support efforts to improve conditions in other countries?
- American relief workers and troops will be called upon to join in international efforts, often in countries far from home?
- additional U.S. aid will go toward propping up corrupt, incompetent leaders in the developing world?

U.S. foreign policy should be directed toward promoting American values in other countries.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- tension will escalate with countries that reject our values?
- new divisions will arise within the international community centered on questions of values?
- anti-Western forces, such as Islamic fundamentalism, will gain greater prominence in cultures that do not share our values?

International stability and order should be protected because they are vital to the interests of the United States.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- we must always defend the international status quo, regardless of its fairness and legitimacy?
- we will have to respond to every threat to international order and stability?
- we will be expected to aid governments that are fighting insurgents within their countries, regardless of the reasons for civil conflict?

We should rely less on military force and other conventional foreign policy tools to solve the problems of today's interconnected world.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- regional aggressors will be convinced that the United States will not block their efforts to expand their influence by force?
- global problems will remain unresolved because the United States lacks clout in the international arena?
- the international system that has evolved in the 20th century will grow increasingly fragmented and chaotic?

Questions of morality should not determine our relations with other countries.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- international bullies will increase their aggression against their neighbors, knowing that there is no one to stop them?
- ethnic cleansing and genocide will become more widespread in the developing world and the former Soviet bloc?
- the emerging consensus in the international community on questions of human rights will dissolve?

The interests of the United States can be maintained only if we resolutely exercise our power and influence in international affairs.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- we must use military force and risk American lives for less than admirable causes?
- we will anger our allies and trading partners by acting independently?
- we must maintain high military spending to deter our potential enemies?

As Americans, we have the right and the responsibility to spread democracy around the world.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- other countries will resent our active promotion of democracy?
- laying the groundwork for democracy will require expensive new foreign aid programs?
- we must send American troops far from home to defend democratic governments under attack?

Problems in the international arena are far less important for Americans than the challenges we face at home, such as poverty, crime, and budget deficits.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- we will sit on the sidelines as the next Adolf Hitler gains strength?
- global problems, such as degradation of the environment, AIDS, and drug trafficking, will worsen?
- the international alliance system will break down, endangering world peace?

The United States should be willing to give up some of its own sovereignty to promote international cooperation.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- the United States will be obliged to live by the decisions of the United Nations and other international bodies even when they run counter to U.S. interests?
- American taxpayers will have to support expensive new programs and powerful bureaucracies created by the international community?

- the United States will be able to take military action only with the approval of the United Nations?

The United States cannot afford to give other nations a say in policies by which Americans must live.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- the United States will find itself isolated in the international arena?
- the United Nations, the international trading system, and other global institutions will unravel without U.S. participation?
- other great powers, such as China or Russia, will emerge as leaders in the international community?

The United States should oppose countries that grossly abuse the human rights of their citizens.

Would you support this statement even if it means that...

- we will anger some of our key trading partners and military allies?
- we will aggravate tensions with other great powers, such as China and Russia?
- the cohesion and effectiveness of the United Nations and other international organizations will be undermined?

Having completed this section, please take a moment to review your ratings in Section 1. Did you change them?

SECTION 3

Crafting your future

When you meet for the final session of this series, you will have the opportunity to articulate your own vision for the United States during the next decade. You will need to ask yourself what is most important to you. Perhaps you have found that some of the things you care deeply about are in conflict. What consequences are unacceptable? What trade-offs are you willing to make? Use your responses to the questions in this chapter to help you frame your own Future. For example, statements in Section 1, ***Focusing Your***

Thoughts, to which you have assigned 1 or 2 can serve as points that you may want to include. Those to which you have assigned 3 or 4 you may want to include in their negative form. You may also wish to incorporate your responses to the ***Your Turn*** sections from previous chapters. As you synthesize the various elements to frame a coherent vision of your Future, you might ask yourself these questions:

- What do you believe are the most important international problems facing the United States?
- How should we respond to the changes in the international environment to make the United States the country you believe it can and should be?
- How will these steps affect the lives of Americans over the next ten years?
- What would people who oppose this vision say?
- How would you respond to these people?
- At the turn of the century, what would we be able to say America stands for if your Future were adopted?

We hope that you will use the last session of this series not only to define your own Future, but also to share that vision with others and to explore areas in which you may share common ground. Finally, this session offers an opportunity for you to consider what you can do after this series ends to further your goals. In crafting your Future and participating in the ballot at the end of this book, you will be joining others in a national conversation about who we are as a nation and where we are headed as the next century approaches.

Ballot

Part I: Considering the Four Futures: Rank each of the statements below 1-4, assigning 1 to the statement with which you most agree and 4 to the statement with which you least agree.

___ **Future 1:** The United States should give top priority to promoting human rights and democracy worldwide, **even if** this antagonizes governments with which we have friendly relations.

___ **Future 2:** The United States should give top priority to protecting its own interests abroad, **even if** this means supporting governments that are undemocratic and do not support human rights.

___ **Future 3:** The United States should give top priority to working through the international community to address common problems, **even if** we have to sacrifice some of our sovereignty (for instance, giving up the right to use military force abroad without UN approval).

___ **Future 4:** The United States should greatly reduce its involvement overseas and focus on problems at home, **even if** we have to turn a blind eye to war and aggression outside of North America.

Part II: What most concerns you? What do you consider the most important international challenges facing the United States over the next ten years? Please check only **three**.

___ 1. Aggressive nationalism will fuel conflict and instability in the developing world.

___ 2. The gulf between the developed and developing worlds will widen, making it increasingly difficult to address common problems.

___ 3. Increasing immigration will exacerbate strains in our society.

___ 4. U.S. jobs will be lost to other countries.

___ 5. The United States will isolate itself from the international community.

___ 6. Nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons will proliferate.

___ 7. The United States will drain its resources by becoming bogged down in other countries' problems.

___ 8. The United States will lose access to oil and other key resources abroad.

___ 9. An expansionist Russia will fuel conflict and instability.

___ 10. Damage to the global environment will become irreparable.

___ 11. The United States will have its hands tied by international organizations.

Part III: What should we do? Rate each of the statements below according to your beliefs:
1 = Strongly Support 2 = Support 3 = Oppose 4 = Strongly Oppose 5 = Undecided

___ The United States should spend what is necessary to remain a military superpower, **even** if this means reducing social programs, letting the deficit continue to grow, or increasing taxes.

___ The United States should retaliate against countries with unfair trade practices, **even** if we jeopardize our overall relations with Japan, France, and other key allies.

___ The United States should support broadening the mandate of the UN and other international organizations, **even if** this means we are bound to contribute to efforts that Americans do not fully support.

___ The United States should use military force to protect access to oil and other important raw materials, **even** in situations in which substantial American casualties are expected.

___ The United States should impose trade sanctions on countries that contribute to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, **even if** such sanctions harm American trade relations.

___ The United States should increase financial aid to countries that are moving toward democracy and free-market economic systems, **even if** money needs to be diverted from domestic programs.

___ The United States should help negotiate strict international standards to address global warming and other environmental threats, **even if** compliance forces Americans to pay more for cars, gasoline, and other products that contribute to pollution.

___ The United States should accept fewer immigrants and crack down on illegal immigration, **even if** this deprives the American workforce of the talent and ambitions of newcomers and fuels anti-American sentiments abroad.

___ The United States should lead international military missions to stop gross human rights violations, **even if** this may involve U.S. troops in protracted conflicts.

Part IV: Often our views cannot be easily tabulated on a scorable form. Please take this opportunity to express the primary thrust of your preferred Future 5 in two or three sentences. Your thoughts here will be taken into account in the final report.

Please return this form to your librarian.

Participant Evaluation Form

Choices for the 21st Century: Defining Our Role in a Changing World

To help us assess this series and plan future programs, please answer the following questions.

1. Library name and location:_____ Date:_____Yr.____

2. How did you learn about this series? Check all that apply:

___ Media ___ Poster ___ Mailing ___ Co-sponsor ___ Other (describe)

Is this the first library program you have attended? ___ Yes ___ No

3. Which session(s) or activities did you enjoy the most? Why?

4. Which session(s) or activities did you enjoy the least? Why?

5. Please rate the quality of this program in terms of the following criteria.

(5=very successful; 4=successful; 3=somewhat successful; 2=not very successful; 1=unsuccessful)

•a high level of audience participation	1	2	3	4	5
•a comfortable forum for discussing differences	1	2	3	4	5
•ability of your scholar as a discussion leader	1	2	3	4	5

Please comment on any of your answers.

6. To promote individual participation, small group discussions were used.

How effective were these? *(5=very successful)* 1 2 3 4 5

Please comment on the reasons that they were or were not effective.

7. To understand and pursue the question of America's role in the post-Cold War era, a "Four Futures" framework was used in this series.

Please rate the success of this approach *(5=very successful).* 1 2 3 4 5

Please comment on why it was or was not effective.

8. How would you characterize the readings? Check all that apply.

___Very informative ___ Well-balanced and fair ___Can't wait to read more

___Too simplistic ___ Challenging and rewarding ___ Better after the discussion

___Too difficult ___ Interesting but slow going

9. Has this series increased your interest in or knowledge of national and international affairs? ___ Yes ___ No

Has the series encouraged you to read more about national and international issues as a result? ___ Yes ___ No

10. The overall goals of this program were to help you think more critically about America's role in the world, and to clarify your own convictions about the choices we should make. Were these goals met?
Please explain: ___ Yes ___ No

11. How would you improve this series?

12. Would you like your library to host another series? ___ Yes ___ No

13. What suggestions do you have to attract additional participants in the future? Please comment:

Please tell us a little about yourself.

Sex: ___ female ___ male

Age: ___ under 25 ___25-35 ___36-45 ___ 46-55 ___ 56-65 ___66-75 ___ 76 or older

Please check highest level of education completed:

___ High school ___ College 1 2 3 4 ___Advanced degree ___Other

What is your occupation?_____

Please return this form to your librarian.

Today the United States finds itself in a world that has fundamentally changed. The end of the Cold War has provided a unique opportunity for Americans to consider new directions for national policies both at home and abroad.

At a time when U.S. leaders are struggling to set the nation's public policy agenda for the post-Cold War era, input from concerned citizens is more important than ever. It is time for a national conversation on who we are as a nation, and where we are headed as the next century approaches.

Choices for the 21st Century: Public Policy Discussions in Your Local Library is designed to engage citizens in open dialogue on contested public policy issues in a way that grounds consideration of complex policy issues in the values that shape our public life. The goal of this program is to bring citizens together to develop a "public voice" on current public policy issues at this historic moment in our national life. This is democracy in action.

Choices for the 21st Century

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